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Key Developments

FBIS Duma Election Report 4 Dec

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[FBIS Media Note]

Recent Developments

Duma Deputy Murdered in Chita ITAR-TASS (26 November) reported that Duma deputy and Stable Russia candidate Sergey Markidonov was killed by his bodyguard during a campaign stop in the oblast. However, Markidonov's party colleagues and Duma Chairman Ivan Rybkin are questioning the oblast Ministry of Internal Affairs' (MVD) assertion that Markidonov was killed after engaging in heavy drinking and arguing with his bodyguard in a hotel room. Rybkin told IZVESTIYA (28 November) "I do not believe the story about his being drunk." Markidonov's party colleagues told the paper that he was "virtually" a teetotaler and that they consider his slaying a "political" murder. According to IZVESTIYA, a test indicated that there was "no alcohol" in Markidonov's bloodstream and that he "was killed while asleep."

Filatov, Tumanov Warn Election Law Controversy May Not Be Over While claiming that President Boris Yeltsin's "strongly expressed intention" to hold the Duma elections as scheduled has "lowered the temperature of the debate and anxiety in society," Presidential Administration Head Sergey Filatov has warned that a "danger" still exists of a "revision of election results" if the parties and blocs that clear the 5 percent threshold garner less than half of all votes cast. Filatov told regional leaders and members of district electoral commissions during a 28 November teleconference that "should such a problem arise" it will "have to be tackled" with the "involvement" of the Supreme and Constitutional Courts (ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI, 29 November).

Discussing the Constitutional Court's refusal to consider appeals lodged by the Supreme Court and Duma deputies concerning the constitutionality of the 5 percent provision at a 24 November press conference, Constitutional Court Chairman Vladimir Tumanov said "however, this does not mean that the election subject is closed for the Constitutional Court" (INTERFAX, 24 November).

TsIK Figures Show LDPR Best Financed Party According to a 1 December IZVESTIYA report, information the TsIK (Central Electoral Commission) received from the Russian Federation State Savings Bank as of 24 November indicates that Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's LDPR far outpacing its competitors in campaign finances thus far. The LDPR reportedly has 10.7 billion rubles (R) at its disposal, just under the R10.9 billion ceiling allowed by law. Parties' and blocs' finances were listed as follows:

Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia—R10.7 billion

Congress of Russian Communities—R3.5 billion
Russia's Democratic Choice-United Democrats—R3.943 billion
Russia Is Our Home—R3.2 billion
Yabloko—R1.915 billion
Women of Russia--R1.487 billion
Forward, Russia!—R777 million
Communist Party of the Russian Federation—R768 million
Beer Lovers' Party—R570 million
Agrarian Party of Russia—R405 million
Trade Unions and Industrialists of Russia-Union of Labor—R370 million
Kedr—R298 million
Tikhonov-Tupolev-Tikhonov Bloc—R247 million
National-Republican Party of Russia—R165 million
Party of Russian Unity and Accord—R156 million
All other parties and blocs—less than R100 million

Earlier, ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA and SEGODNYA published a chart on 25 November based on TsIK-released figures detailing 25 parties' and blocs' finances and expenditures as of 20 November. The chart indicated that corporate contributions accounted for nearly R4.5 billion of the LDPR's reported funds, individual donations just under R1 billion, and the LDPR's own funds added up to slightly less than R4.4 billion. Specific contributors were not named in the report. The charts published in ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA and SEGODNYA also showed the LDPR is also listed as outpacing its rivals by a wide margin in spending. According to the TsIK chart, the party had already spent nearly R7.3 billion while no other party had spent more than R200 million.

ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA (25 November), SEGODNYA (25 November), and KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA (28 November) all questioned the NDR's (Russia Is Our Home) reported lack of spending as of 20 November and expressed doubts about the TsIK's ability to accurately monitor campaign finances and expenditures. According to KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA, TsIK Chairman Nikolay Ryabov has issued NDR an "unexpectedly stern warning" that he is "suspicious" of the bloc's claim that it has "not made use of a single ruble" thus far. The paper noted that NDR's "eagle-eyed competitors" have "already counted around 10,000 advertising boards displaying Chernomyrdin's face across Russia" and that each one costs "at least $2,000." ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA (29 November) reported that the TsIK is "collecting information" on expressed his displeasure with the conduct of the campaign, Yeltsin said that "according to the law we cannot, of course, interfere or correct anything, and we will not do so."

Zhirinovskiy Makes Impression on Moscow TV Viewers A poll of nearly 1,600 Muscovites conducted by the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion (VTsIOM) during 18-20 November indicates that Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia (LDPR) leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy's initial television appearances are attracting attention. The VTsIOM poll, which asked respondents to name which candidates' television appearances had struck them the most, showed Zhirinovskiy at the top with 8 percent, followed by Yabloko leader Grigoriy Yavlinskiy with 7 percent, and Forward, Russia! leader Boris Fedorov with 5 percent. Sixteen other candidates and Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov—who is not a candidate—were named by 1-4 percent of respondents and other unnamed candidates were named by less than 1 percent of respondents. Thirty-two percent of the respondents indicated that none of the candidates' television appearances had made a significant impression thus far and 28 percent had difficulty answering the question (MOSKOVSKIY KOMSOMOLETS, 22 November).

Muscovites Not Tuning Out TV Campaign Programs Yet A poll of nearly 1,100 Muscovites conducted by an organization identified as the "independent 'Opinion' service" during 16-18 November indicates that potential voters in the city are watching at least some of the campaign-related programming despite the dizzying array of parties and candidates from which they can choose. Thirteen percent of respondents claimed that they "always" watch election-related programs, 28 percent watch them "often," 41 percent watch them "from time to time," and only 17 percent indicated that they are "resolute opponents" of such programs (TRUD, 29 November).

Communications Workers Urged To Switch Off Campaign Programs SEGODNYA (16 November) reported that Deputy Communications Minister Mikhail Yelizarov, speaking at a congress of the communication sector's trade unions, urged communications workers to "periodically deny access to the air waves" to "debtor" television and radio companies that "have begun broadcasting election campaign promotional programs" as a "token of protest." Anatoliy Nazeykin, who is the chairman of the trade unions' central committee, reportedly backed Yelizarov by calling on communications workers to use "all available methods" "up to the possible disruption" of election campaign coverage. The paper reported, however, that the congress "opted for a more restrained stance" and decided to "inform the government and its structures, as well as lawmakers," that a "disruption of coverage of the election campaign" is "rather likely" if communications workers have not been paid before 30 November.

Update on Election Blocs' Advertising on State TV The following are brief summaries of several notable parties' and blocs' free campaign ads carried by state-controlled ORT, RTV, and St. Petersburg Fifth Channel TV 20-30 November:

Russia Is Our Home In four prepared video presentations that aired on ORT and RTV 20-30 November, the NDR emphasizes that the bloc's leaders have taken the responsibility for governing the country, in contrast to other parties and blocs. In a personal appeal to his "devoted viewers," well-known film director Nikita Mikhalkov, number 2 on the NDR's core list of candidates, says that "it is very simple today to blame the government for what it has not done" but that "only those who do nothing make mistakes." He asserts that unlike the divisive politics practiced by other parties, the NDR has "never insulted anyone, called people names with the intention of humiliating them, or tried to prove a person's insignificance." Mikhalkov also, however, takes a swipe at several of the government's leading critics who "base their policies on the words 'no,' 'I am against', and 'I hate.'"

In another presentation, Chernoymyrdin, Mikhalkov, and General Lev Rokhlin, number 3 on the party's list, are seated in armchairs next to each other and Chernomyrdin says that while it is "difficult to acheive a proper state with proper laws," his government will attempt to do it "without promises and deceit."

Congress of Russian Communities The KRO's prepared video clips, which ran three times on 21 and 22 November, place heavy emphasis on the party's leaders, Yuriy Skokov, Aleksandr Lebed, and Sergey Glazyev, whom they show walking in tandem in various scenic settings and giving brief statements to an unseen "interviewer." Skokov and Lebed discuss morality and ethics in parliament, while Glazyev discusses the party's economic program. One of the clips also introduces other members on the party's core list and includes men and women on the street saying why they intend to support the party. A 30 November presentation on ORT concentrated on Glazyev and his economic message, followed by a cartoon map of Russia being hit by an apple, a house, and a hammer and sickle, symbolic allusions to rival parties Yabloko, NDR, and CPRF.

Communist Party of the Russian Federation The CPRF opened its 22 November television address on RTV, delivered by former cosmonaut Svetlana Savitskaya, with a video showing scenes of Chechnya and the parliament building after it was shelled, followed by a caption saying "Who is going to stop this?" and stills of party leaders Savitskaya, Aman Tuleyev, Svetlana Goyracheva, and Gennadiy Zyuganov smiling. A caption saying "We are for peace! We are against civil war!" After Savitskaya attacks Yavlinskiy and Forward, Russia! leader Boris Fedorov for their early involvement in the economic reforms, the CPRF presentation closes with scenes of homeless children around a fire, followed again by the stills of the party leaders with the caption "We are for a happy childhood."

In the party's 28 November presentation on ORT, Tuleyev, the Kemerovo Oblast Legislative Assembly chairman, appears live and attempts to assuage voters who might be concerned that the CPRF wants to abolish private enterprise. "Do I look crazy to you?" Tuleyev asks, "I have a privatized apartment. Do you think I will confiscate it?" He adds that he will "personally break anyone's neck if he starts taking my property from me."

Liberal-Democratic Party of Russia Party leader Vladimir Zhirinovskiy appeared in the RTV studio on 22 November and lambasted the CPRF presentation that had preceded his. Responding to CPRF member Savitskaya's criticism of the government, Zhirinovskiy said that the current government and the Soviet-era communists are "one and the same" and that they are "once again deceiving you" by running "under various banners." He also issued an appeal to save Russia's children, saying that "in ten years' time" the "4 million homeless children" will "be criminals." He added that the current economic program has led to a situation in which "some are selling their bodies, some are selling their property, and some are selling their souls."

In another address on 30 November, Zhirinovskiy attacked the CPRF and NDR, saying that the "former ruling party which ruled until 1991" is responsible for the fact that the "USSR has died" while those who have "tried to knock together the CIS" over the past few years are "even worse." He presents his party as the protector of the Orthodox church and Russians abroad. He also ridiculed other nationalist leaders as "turncoats, werewolves, and traitors," saying that Derzhava leader Aleksandr Rutskoy was shot down in Afghanistan by a "Pakistani boy," that Lebed "lost everything" in Moldova, and that Skokov is a "new, young Gorbachev."

Party of Workers' Self-Government In in its presentation on RTV on 22 November the party emphasized the personal popularity of party leader Svyatoslav Fedorov, a well-known eye surgeon. He is shown speaking at a press conference, at home, at work, in the operating room, riding a motorbike, with his horses, and in a business meeting. Fedorov talks about the need to abolish fixed salaries to give people "an incentive to work." Its 20 November presentation on St. Petersburg Fifth Channel also featured Fedorov, who is sitting in his living room discussing the effects of his procedure to cure myopia.

Ivan Rybkin's Bloc In two appearances, one on RTV on 29 November and one on ORT on 28 November, Rybkin emphasizes that his bloc does not support the government and waxes nostalgically about the Soviet era. In the 28 November prepared video, Rybkin talks about growing up when the Soviet Union was "astonishing the world" with new discoveries and the "Soviet Army's training was the best in the world."

Russia's Democratic Choice-United Democrats In a spot run on 20 and 22 November, party leader Yegor Gaydar again appeared in a library answering written questions from citizens, but this time his presentation is interspersed with black and white video clips of him passionately defending himself against a Zhirinovskiy supporter in a crowd of people in Severodvinsk, his Duma addresses from July and December 1992, a Yeltsin address from June 1992 saying that a government not headed by Gaydar would be worse, and an interview with Chernomyrdin on the day he took office in December 1992 saying that he supports market reforms but not "a bazaar." Gaydar also catalogues the misfortunes of all the countries of East Europe and the former Soviet Union, saying that the economic situation in those countries is even worse.

Party of Economic Freedom Konstantin Borovoy's party has put together some of the most memorable and inventive video clips, which feature a series of short, humorous songs sung by a band of merry minstrels and ridiculing government officials and leaders of various parties. The spots have drawn a response from the government watchdog in charge of ensuring fair elections. The deputy chairman of the Chamber for the Adjudication of Information Disputes said that Borovoy's "scandalous" ads were "uncouth and bordered on indecency" (ITAR-TASS, 23 November).

Forward, Russia! Party leader Boris Fedorov, ever-present throughout the party's campaign ads to the virtual exclusion of all other party candidates, has attempted to portray himself as a prickly hedgehog—the party's mascot that Fedorov is often shown with— unafraid to challenge the government and its policies. Several of Fedorov's campaign spots begin with 3 questions flashed across the screen, such as: "Which politician embraced and kissed Dudayev?"; "Which communist said: Zyuganov is more dangerous than Yeltsin today?"; "Which politician in power is like a mafia godfather?"; "Is three years sufficient for the premier to prove himself?"; and "Which of the politicians linked communism with religion and nationalism?" Viewers are then told that if they "know the answers, they should vote for Forward, Russia!" In addition to posing staged questions to people on the streets followed by their enthusiastic, supposedly spontaneous endorsements, many of the party's presentations make use of Fedorov with his family and the ever-present hedgehog (RTV, 23, 27, 30 November; ORT, 21, 29 November).

Emphasizing the negative aspects of the country's communist legacy, Fedorov has tried to lump opponents such as Chernomyrdin, Lebed, and Zyuganov together as merely a continuation of that legacy. Asserting that it is "impossible to promise to summon up the past," Fedorov claimed that his party is different because "we are not going to be hypocritical and deceive people" (RTV, 23 November).

Yabloko Adhering thus far to a stripped-down, substance-over-style approach, party leaders Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, Vladimir Lukin, and Tatyana Yarygina have opted for live or recorded studio interviews with few graphic or gimmicks (ORT, 21 November; RTV, 23, 30 November; St. Petersburg Fifth Channel Television, 24 November). In his 21 November appearance on ORT, Yavlinskiy outlined his party's economic program and its "main aim"—"to halt the fall in the standard of living and to pose the question of social policy as the main thrust of the functioning of the whole economy." Yavlinskiy also called for measures to ensure that "monopolists" and "businessmen" pay their fare share of taxes to create more opportunities and to halt the flow of money out of the country. He also challenged the party's "principal Opponents"—Chernomyrdin and Zyuganov—to participate in a "discussion" to show viewers "who is telling the truth" and "who is just dreaming up promises." Yarygina touched on many of the same economic issues during her 30 November appearance on RTV.

In his 24 November appearance on St. Petersburg Fifth Channel Televsion, Lukin claimed that Duma committee on international affairs which he heads has been "the main opponent of our Foreign Ministry and our diplomacy, which, in the common view of our public, carries out incorrect policies...that greatly and frequently humiliate our country's dignity." Lukin also claimed that Yabloko's "contribution is out of proportion to the number of deputies it has in the Duma" and that the party "could do more with more deputies." According to Lukin, the party's leaders "do not promise miracles, but we promise to fulfill our economic and political programs. We promise to keep our hands clean" and to "represent our country in the international arena in such a way that you will not be ashamed."

Beer Lovers' Party Openly appealing to voters disillusioned with politics and politicians, the Beer Lovers' Party has stressed its outsider status with wry humor, linking beer-drinking to "a normal life and normal people" and claiming the party has "trust in common sense and healthy pragmatism." In the party's first free-time appearance (RTV, 15 November), party leader Konstantin Kalachev said the party was "set up on impulse" and hopes to remain a "party of improvization" in Opposition to "all those who love power, money and privileges." Campaign video ads aired briefly in some free time slots have shown peasants inebriated after drinking vodka accompanied by a voice-over gently admonishing viewers that "this is not the way," and in a St. Petersburg Fifth Channel campaign slot on 21 November Kalachev claimed that "beer symbolizes calm, as opposed to the extremism of vodka-drinking."

Satarov Denies State Funding for NDR

LD3011192795 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1413 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Nov. 30 (INTERFAX) — Presidential aide Georgiy Satarov denied reports that Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's Our Home Is Russia (NDR) electoral bloc has been using state funds in its electoral campaign. "I have no knowledge of NDR using budget funds," he said at a briefing in the INTERFAX Moscow headquarters Thursday. Satarov said that Chernomyrdin as head of government cannot avoid TV appearances. This practice is common in numerous countries where the prime minister is involved in an electoral race.

Zhirinovskiy Accuses Lebed of Colluding With Afghan Bands

LD0112205195 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian
1800 GMT 1 Dec 95

[Report on news conference held by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy, leader of the Russian Liberal Democratic Party, in Moscow on 1 December, by correspondent Pavel Ryazantsev; from the "Vremya" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Ryazantsev] One of the most original methods of conducting an election campaign was used by Vladimir Zhirinovskiy today at a news conference. So that the fair sex should cast fewer of their votes for the Women of Russia, the Liberal Democratic Party of Russia leader appealed to all the men of Russia to provide their loved ones with a more interesting activity than politics, and cited his own successes in this field.

[Begin Zhirinovskiy recording] They sleep alone, in an empty, cold bed. And in the daytime they attack me. But I cannot do it night and day. I can do it twice a night, but I cannot do it five times during the day and then again at night. [end recording]

[Ryazantsev] He then demonstrated a fair knowledge of religion.

[Begin Zhirinovskiy recording] Jesus Christ was 33-years-old when he was crucified. [end recording]

[Ryazantsev] After that he levelled very serious accusations against General Lebed, a rival in the elections, and cited the following facts from his Afghanistan period. And the way he narrated all this reminded one of the scenes from the famous "Chapayev" film.

[Begin Zhirinovskiy recording, shown holding and moving objects that look like cassettes to indicate regiments] This is Lebed's regiment, and here are the neighboring regiments. The commander of this regiment, Lebed, concludes a treaty with Ahmad Shah Mas'ud, the leader of a [rebel] band, and the latter leads his detachments through the regiment's territory. [end recording] [video shows Zhirinovskiy talking at a news conference]

Reportage on 'Elections '95' Campaign Coverage

Duma Members Speak on Behalf of Yabloko

LD0212182495 St. Petersburg Fifth Channel Television Network in Russian 1800 GMT 1 Dec 95

[Live studio broadcast on behalf of Yabloko electoral bloc, by Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the Duma Committee for Foreign Affairs; Duma Deputy Tatyana Yarygina; Mikhail Zadornov, chairman of the Duma Committee for the Budget and Finance; Georgiy Arbatov, member of the Duma Committee for Defense; and Yuriy Shchekochikhin, LITERATURNAYA GAZETA investigative editor; from the "Elections '95" program]

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] [Yarygina] I would like to begin by saying that our bloc defines itself as the democratic opposition. The sign of our opposition is, in particular, that we disagree with those in power at present as regards social policy. We believe that the human being, rather than the ruble, should be a priority of today's policy, because the perception of any reform by the people is based primarily on how they live, rather than cold figures of statistical reports. The title of our program reads: Reforms for the majority.

I could (?draw your attention to) a lot. I could draw your attention to the fact that the whole system of economic priorities and the mechanism of their accomplishment builds upon social priorities. Given that we have little time, I would like to emphasize two points: One is the labor market and the creation of jobs, which means industrial policy and support for the sectors which can not only enliven the Russian economy today, but also ensure its prosperity in the future.

The second aspect I would like to draw your attention to is income. Income today is a very complex matter for the government and (?almost so) for the people, because it is about low pay and the decline of the status of, and respect for, those who embody culture, tradition, and, in general, the best our country possesses. They are the teachers, doctors, and employees in the sphere of culture and science, the national army, and pensioners, whose pensions are not there.

Why are we certain that we shall carry out our program and objectives? It is because there are the appropriate economic mechanisms. I think that Mikhail Mikhaylovich [Zadornov] will be able to speak in greater detail on how to achieve that. [passage omitted]

[Zadornov] What is Yabloko? Yabloko is low taxes, fighting treasury embezzlement, and budgetary support for St. Petersburg. [passage omitted on the bloc's past performance in the above areas]

Our priorities in the budget, which we have fought for for two years, are, as follows: Primarily, it is the payment of wages and salaries to everybody. That is something not to be economical with, as is the case with the present government. It is the defense order, which is why we amended the budget for 1996, with the defense order up by 3 trillion rubles. It is science, and it was precisely our faction that has ensured that funding of science this year has gone up by a third. And finally, it is small- and medium-sized businesses which, in our view, are the prime movers of progress, reform, and development at present. [passage omitted]

[Arbatov] Our program envisions a whole number of measures which, in strategic, social, and technical terms, could encourage the reform of the armed forces. I would, however, like to talk about another matter. It is very difficult to reform the armed forces and the army when it is busy doing what it should not be doing. In the past four years of Yeltsin's government, our army has done a lot: It shot at the parliament, undertook punishment operations in Chechnya, traded in its own property, engaged in banking transactions, and laid cables for foreign firms.

Let us, however, take another look at the armed forces as a whole: Our combat fighter pilots do not fly, our ships stand idle because no ship repair is done, and our missile bases get disconnected from the electricity supply. We believe that in order to launch reforms in the army, what we have to do above all is to free the armed forces from functions that are alien to them and to make every effort to enable them to fulfill their main constitutional obligation: namely, to ensure the defense of the country. [passage omitted]

[Lukin] We are ready to assume responsibility and to work toward the passage of laws at world level in every major aspect of our life. This is our team. I would like you, esteemed viewers and electors, to vote for the team that you think the best. Personally, I have no knowledge of any better team than that of Yabloko. Thank you. [passage omitted]

APR Candidates Discuss Land Reform

LD0112113595

[FBIS Editorial Report] St. Petersburg Fifth Channel Television Network in Russian during the "Elections '95" program at 1800 GMT on 30 November 95 carries a 15-minute campaign message by State Duma deputy Vasiliy Vershinin and N.V. Shirokov, Leningrad region agriculture minister, for the Agrarian Party of Russia [APR].

Speaking live in the studio, party Central Council member Vershinin says that "in the last five years agricultural output has halved." He blames "so-called reforms" for the decline.

He introduces Shirokov, who says: "We think that, without the revival of the countryside, the revival of Russia and its economy is impossible in principle." He goes on to talk about the situation in Leningrad region.

Shirokov accuses the media: "The official media and the present regime are constantly distorting our position. Therefore let me very briefly tell you once again about what we are taking with us to the forthcoming elections. The position of the Agrarian Party is as follows. First the land question. The citizens are scared. They think that the agrarians, as soon as they come into power, will take away private allotments and the land under dachas. Leading up to the last elections, we said that we guaranteed each citizen a right to privately own land under his or her garden, vegetable allotment, or dacha so that they could do what they wanted with that land. But we are categorically against the buying and selling of the main agricultural lands."

He continues: "As for our attitude to the market, they say that the Agrarians are against the market. On the contrary, peasants are interested in selling their products in order to receive industrial products in return. On the contrary, we have been deprived of the market by those who are in power at present."

He says the APR supports private farmers: "The Agrarian Party is giving all its support to the farmer working on the land."

Regarding his party's attitude to the forms of ownership, Shirokov says: "We are saying that all these arguments about public and private ownership are far-fetched. We welcome a form of ownership that is for the benefit of the people, for the benefit of the state."

Shirokov goes on to criticize the reforms in Russia and says that President Roosevelt's reforms in the United States provided a model for Russia. None of the promises originally made by Russian reformers were kept. He concludes by appealing for people to vote for his party.

Vershinin winds up by saying: "If there is a majority of patriotically minded people in the Duma, the agrarians will be able to lead Russia out of the blind alley."

Gromov Presents My Fatherland Bloc

LD0112201595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1605 GMT on 1 December in its "Elections '95" program broadcasts a seven-minute presentation by the My Fatherland bloc, which includes a recorded address by the bloc's leader Boris Gromov.

The segment opens with video clips of past Soviet glories and an unseen announcer saying that Russia is a country with much to be proud of; a country with a past, present, and future; and a place for everyone. On-screen captions and the announcer say: "Russia has its own path!"; "We have the experience!"; "We have the faith!"; and "My faith is My Fatherland."

Gromov is then shown standing in an office speaking to the camera. This is interspersed with clips of him sitting against a backdrop of the Russian flag with martial music playing in the background.

In one of the clips, Gromov says: "Most important for me as a voter is the man. I want to know who he is and what he has done for my fatherland. People trust people and not catchphrases."

Speaking to the camera, Gromov continues: "So I ask you to vote for My Fatherland, to vote for me, General Gromov. Why? Because I and My Fatherland will not deceive you. I and my comrades and colleagues in this electoral bloc have seen much and done much in our lives. I have done much for my subordinates in life. I have never compromised my honor or dignity. I have never vilified my country or my history. I did not storm the White House or Ostankino. I was totally opposed to the bloodshed in Chechnya. I played no part in this war. I have never fired on my own people. I and my colleagues in the My Fatherland electoral bloc look you, the voter, honestly in the eye. We have nothing to be ashamed of. We know what to do now. We have vast experience.

"I and My Fatherland stand for an orderly state, for a tranquil and normal life for its people, so that you can live without fearing for yourselves or your nearest and dearest. I and My Fatherland stand against war. My Fatherland is for a diversified economy. We want the country to develop in the way that you, above all, esteemed electors, need so that the country can develop instead of reforming to the glee of our — they are not ours anymore — patrons in the West, the east, and perhaps in the south. We stand for normal, sound patriotism. We stand for love toward our shared fatherland."

Gromov then calls for the Armed Forces to be restored to their former glory: "Never have our Army and Navy been in such a sorry state. They pain my soul, yet at the same time fill me with hope and confidence that despite everything our Armed Forces will again be strong, steadfast and mighty."

Gromov goes on to say My Fatherland has many people who have done much for their country and who represent calm competence. He adds: "My Fatherland wants our people to go about their lives and labors in peace and tranquillity, and be friendly with their neighbors. Our electoral bloc has people who have done a very great deal for their country, who, like you, live and work in our country. In a country that should be great. She should rise, and she shall rise."

The broadcast concludes with a rerun of the opening video clips.

Lipitskiy Speaks on Social Democrats

LD0212175495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian at 1605 GMT on 1 December in its "Elections '95" program carries a seven-minute presentation by the Social Democrats, featuring recorded comments by leader Vasiliy Lipitskiy.

Lipitskiy begins by saying the Social Democrats would cut spending on the "army of bureaucrats" and redistribute the savings to the needy. This is followed by a video montage of people and scenes, including the fall of the Berlin Wall and the faces of former German Chancellor Willy Brandt and former British Labor leader John Smith.

Over a video of the European Community flag, an unseen announcer reminds viewers that the heads of government of Spain, Austria, Norway, and Sweden are all Social Democrats: "You want to live like they do in Europe? Then vote for the Social Democrats." This is followed by newly elected Polish President Aleksander Kwasniewski giving a message of support, and Hungarian Prime Minister Gyula Horn telling an unseen interviewer about the Social Democrats' success in running Hungary and moving closer to the European Union.

The announcer then says: "Social Democrats are in power in many West European countries. In Austria, Belgium, Denmark, Iceland, the Netherlands, Norway, Finland, and Sweden, the Social Democrats have achieved high living standards for their people and strong social guarantees for every individual."

Video of Moscow Mayor Yuriy Luzhkov in conversation with two unidentified men is then shown. Luzhkov tells them that Russian politics needs to find the golden mean that European bodies found long ago, which "helps them to ensure the optimum balance between political, social, and economic goals. In this meaning, it seems to me that social democracy as a political system is the sole alternative capable of saving Russia."

After video footage of children in a classroom, Lipitskiy states: "Social Democracy is the future of this country. Therefore, we are aware of our responsibility for the fate of our children, who will have to live in the new Russia. For 70 years our country was ruled by people who called themselves communists. For the next five years it was run by people calling themselves democrats. Both failed. Today, once again they ask us to trust them, and ask us to give them one more chance. But we cannot trust losers any more. We cannot leave the country in the hands of people who have proved unable to govern. The Social Democrats offer Russia a path to freedom, solidarity, and justice. We offer the country a third way: the way taken by much of Europe, the way taken by much of civilized mankind."

Communist Party Paper Carries Advertisement

MM0112122995

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow PRAVDA ROSSII in Russian 30 November 1995 carries on pages 1, 2, and 3 election advertisements for the Communist Party of the Russian Federation (CPRF). Each advertisement carries the heading "For Our Soviet Motherland!' with the party's title "Communist Party of the Russian Federation" underlined below it and the party's logo — the words "Labor, People's Power, Socialism, Russia" surrounding a hammer and sickle motif in a half-inch square box in the top left-hand corner of the advertisement.

The advertisement on page 1 is approximately three inches square and is carried in the bottom left-hand corner of the page. The full text carried below the headings detailed above reads as follows:

"Three-time Criminals.

"Increasingly often representatives of the present regime raise the threat of civil war. They do so in response to the increasingly clamorous demands of the working people and the parties representing them to return to the working people by legal means the property that was taken from them.

"Who are they, those who dare to threaten the people? There is every justification for the view that they have committed three crimes against the law and justice.

"THE FIRST CRIME was committed when they began turning the property of the all people into private property without obtaining the people's consent.

"THE SECOND CRIME is that by destroying the economy, devaluing the ruble, causing price chaos, the non-payment of wages, and the confiscation of savings at the Savings Bank the present regime forced the working people to sell the vouchers and shares in their enterprises to the banks and other mafia-like structures for peanuts.

"THE THIRD CRIME is the present threat to unleash civil war. It follows logically from such threats that: a) Yeltsin's team is already secretly preparing to suppress the will of the people; b) Yeltsin's team is furthermore inciting those whom it encouraged to appropriate the people's property to be ready for war against a plundered people and is inciting them not to abide by the Constitution.

"The Communists are for the peaceful restoration of justice through the adoption of appropriate laws. They are for the return to the people of the property taken from them by criminal means or as a result of the legislators' error. The crime must be thwarted, the error rectified."

The advertisement carried in the bottom right-hand corner of page 2 is approximately six inches high by three inches wide and is headed "They Destroyed Light Industry and the Production of Medicines." The advertisement, about 700 words long, blames "YAVLINSKIY, SKOKOV, GAYDAR, CHERNOMYRDIN, FEDOROV, CHUBAYS, and SHUMEYKO" for the sharp fall in the production of fabrics, hosiery, knitwear, and footwear between 1990 and 1995 and for the fall in or complete cessation of the production of certain types of medicines. The advertisement says that "these citizens cannot remain in power."

The advertisement on page 3 has the same size and format as that on page 2 and is also carried in the bottom right-hand corner. It is headed "The Not Very Secret Weapon of Aggression" and reads in full as follows:

"Even those long-lost jungle tribes the fiftimifti and the mumbojumbo would not meekly tolerate the destruction of their own civilization and the almost instantaneous threefold decline in their living standard. So why do the most educated people in the world — the Soviet people — not protest when all this is happening before their very eyes and when the country is being unscrupulously destroyed?

"One of the main reasons is the use against the USSR/Russia of a secret weapon, that is, a weapon almost unknown in our country. To be precise, a form of influence brought to bear on people (on the individual, the group, the organization, the stratum, and the crowd) using methods developed by the mighty science of SOCIAL PSYCHOLOGY.

"For over 70 years now this science has been performing the role of social technician fairly successfully in the United States and now in West Europe. Despite the existence in capitalist societies of fundamentally insoluble antagonisms between the classes, those societies have learned not to aggravate social tensions to the point of explosion and to prompt the working people 'voluntarily' to help capital get rich at their expense. This has become possible because the theories of the "middle level" on which this comparatively new science is based (behavioral theories: the theory of learning, the theory of exchange, the theory of elementary behavior; cognitive theories: structural balance theory and dissonance theory; psychoanalytical theories: group development theory, interpersonal behavior theory; and interactive theories: role theories, and so forth) sometimes determine fairly precisely what a man is and how best to control him in order to achieve the desired mode of conduct.

"American social psychology also understood Soviet society quite well. When Gorbachev-Ryzhkov and after them Yeltsin-Gaydar-Chubays wanted to shape life according to someone else's ideas, the USSR/Russia was swamped by a tidal wave of transatlantic consultants. Prompted by their 'ideas,' our state and economic organs gradually adopted the kind of decisions and began via the press to condition the population in such a way that the most educated people in the world were ruined, shattered, and ultimately rendered submissive even though the motherland and their assets had been taken from them.

"At least two suggestions come to mind on how to escape from the clutches of the manipulators of the social consciousness and on how we are to become individuals again and act in our own interests.

"FIRST SUGGESTION: check everything that the authorities, parties, and the press say and do using our daily life as the litmus test. There is just one criterion: Whether things are getting better or worse as a result of their words and deeds. All the rest is nonsense.

"SECOND SUGGESTION: or to be more precise appeal — to young people. Above all to students and postgraduates. The reason why you need to master the science of human management — social psychology — is not so as to pass examinations and then forget everything the next day but so as to serve the people. You need to master its theoretical bases, methods, technique, and instruments.

"RUSSIA NEEDS A COUNTER-WEAPON TO THWART THE AGGRESSION AGAINST THE PEOPLE'S SOUL AND THE PEOPLE'S INTERESTS."

Paper Carries Russia Is Our Home Advertisement

MM0412114295

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow TRUD in Russian on 30 November publishes on page 4 a two-column election advertisement for Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin's Russia Is Our Home [NDR] movement under the headline: "If You Cherish Your Home." Across the top of the two columns is a box comprising NDR's logo, its main slogan "On the firm foundation of responsibility and experience," and the following quotation from Cherromyrdin: "We have done the hardest part: We have stopped the decline in the economy and prevented Russia from collapsing. We have stood our ground and laid the foundation for the future. In our lives the worst is already behind us!" The columns comprise 11 boxes containing between three and five policy statements under the headings: Prices and Wages; Taxes; Land; Legality and Law and Order; Nationalities Policy; Pensions; Employment; Foreign Policy and Defense; Medicine and Education; Ecology; and Religion. Each set of policy statements is followed by a slogan printed in larger boldface type and the slogans are respectively: "Wages will increase faster than prices"; "Sensible taxes for sensible aims"; "We will ensure mixed forms of land management"; "We will put an end to corruption and crime"; "Equality and mutual respect between all nations and peoples will become the law of our lives"; "Even a minimum pension will guarantee a decent living standard"; "Nobody will feel unwanted"; "We do not need anything from anybody else but we will not give up what is ours!"; "Medicine and education will be of a high quality and accessible to all strata of society"; "Let us preserve Russia for our children and grandchildren as a home fit to live in"; and "We will not allow Russian society's moral foundations to be shaken loose." At the bottom of the columns NDR's logo and main slogan are repeated with the addition of the slogan "We keep our word!"

Regional Activities

Chechen Candidate Withdraws From Duma Race

LD0312180095 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1600 GMT 3 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Dec 3 (INTERFAX) — Lecha Magomadov, who was registered as a candidate to the State Duma, has quit the parliamentary race.

According to INTERFAX sources, Magomadov had decided to quit because "it is impossible to ensure democratic elections in Chechnya."

Magomadov heads the Committee for National Accord and is the leader of the Republican Party.

So, seven candidates will continue their parliamentary race in Chechnya.

Election Guidelines

Decree Establishes Election Monitors' Tasks, Powers

MM0112154195 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 30 Nov 95 p 6

[Statute "On Electoral Commission Groups To Monitor the Observance by Participants in the Election Process of the Rules and Regulations for Election Campaigning in the Mass Media During the Election of Deputies to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma," published as Appendix No. 2 to Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission Decree No. 47/398-II of 18 November 1995 — from the "Documents" section; first paragraph is ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission has adopted a decree "On Electoral Commission Groups To Monitor the Observance by Participants in the Election Process of the Rules and Regulations for Election Campaigning in the Mass Media During the Election of Deputies to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma." The decree approves the composition of Central Electoral Commission monitoring groups and the Statute on Electoral

Commission Monitoring Groups, which is published today.

1. General Provisions

1.1. Groups monitoring the observance by participants in the election process of the rules and regulations for election campaigning in the mass media (hereinafter referred to as monitoring groups) can be formed by the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission, Russian Federation components' electoral commissions, and district electoral commissions for the period of election campaigning in the mass media during the election of deputies to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma in accordance with Paragraph 4.1 of the Instruction on the Procedure for Granting Airtime on State Television and Radio Companies' Channels to Electoral Associations, Electoral Blocs, and Candidates for Deputy to the Russian Federation Federal Assembly State Duma and for Publishing Election Campaign Material in Periodical Press Publications With State Participation (hereinafter referred to as the Instruction).

1.2. Monitoring groups are to be formed from among members of the appropriate electoral commission having the right to a full or a consultative vote and specialists in the spheres of law and journalism.

1.3. Monitoring groups are to be guided in their activity by the requirements of federal legislation regulating the rules for election campaigning, the proposals and recommendations of the Russian Federation Presidential Court of Appeal for Information Disputes, instructions and other normative acts of the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission, decisions of the appropriate Russian Federation component's electoral commission or district electoral commission, and this Statute.

1.4. Within the bounds of the powers given them by electoral commissions, monitoring groups are to collaborate with the mass media, their leaders, electoral associations, electoral blocs, candidates for deputy, and other participants in the election process.

1.5. The results of checks and conclusions and proposals relating to applications and complaints associated with an infringement of the prescribed election campaigning rules are to be submitted by a monitoring group for consideration by the appropriate electoral commission.

1.6. Organizational and legal support for monitoring groups' activity is to be provided by the appropriate electoral commission.

2. Procedure for Setting Up a Monitoring Group

2.1. A monitoring group's personnel and leader are to be approved by a decision of the appropriate electoral commission.

2.2. A monitoring group's members can at the request of its leader be sent on assignments on the basis of a directive from the chairman of the appropriate electoral commission, being paid expenses in the prescribed manner and at the prescribed rate out of the funds of the electoral commission sending the group member. Assignments of monitoring group members who are not members of an electoral commission on a permanent basis or employees of its apparatus are to be agreed with the said persons' immediate leaders at their place of permanent work.

2.3. In the absence of a monitoring group's leader his duties are to be performed by a group member on the instructions of the monitoring group's leader.

3. Tasks of a Monitoring Group

3.1. A monitoring group's main tasks are:

— to monitor the implementation by participants in the election process of the provisions of federal laws and the instruction on the rules and regulations for election campaigning through the mass media;

— to investigate appropriate complaints and applications made by candidates, electoral associations, electoral blocs, mass media, and citizens;

— to prepare recommendations, proposals, conclusions, and draft decisions for electoral commissions based on the results of considering appeals and the results of checks;

— to transfer, by agreement with the electoral commission, materials on information disputes of social significance for consideration by the Court of Appeal for Information Disputes Under the Russian Federation President.

4. Functions of a Monitoring Group

On an electoral commission's instructions a monitoring group is to:

4.1. Monitor the implementation by the mass media, candidates, electoral associations, and electoral blocs of the schedule elaborated and approved in the prescribed manner for the granting of airtime on state television and radio companies' channels and of space in periodical press publications by editorial offices.

4.2. Listen to mass media representatives regarding the implementation of contracts concluded between candidates for deputy, electoral associations, electoral blocs, and mass media editorial offices for the granting of paid airtime or print space for election campaigning.

4.3. Monitor the correlation between paid and free airtime and space in periodical press publications granted to participants in the election process by state mass media.

4.4. Check reports of instances involving infringements, within the framework of the election campaign, of the provisions of Articles 3 and 4 of the Russian Federation Law "On the Mass Media."

4.5. Participate in the preparation of electoral commission statements for the press and of commissions' representations to the competent organs in cases involving unlawful activity by certain candidates for deputy, electoral associations, electoral blocs, and mass media during the election campaigning period.

4.6. Give consultative and methodological assistance to subordinate electoral commissions, candidates for deputy, electoral associations, electoral blocs, and mass media in the problems of organizing and carrying out election campaigning.

5. Basic Rights of a Monitoring Group

A monitoring group has the right:

5.1. To appeal for information to state organs, local self-government organs, mass media, subordinate electoral commissions, electoral associations, electoral blocs, and candidates for deputy in questions regarding its conduct.

5.2. On an electoral commission's instructions to request information from the mass media on the amounts of free and paid airtime granted and print space allocated to electoral associations, electoral blocs, and candidates for election campaigning, as well as duplicates of videotapes and audiotapes of election broadcasts that have been made on air and appropriate copies of printed matter.

5.3. To submit for consideration by the electoral commission proposals on eliminating infringements of the rules and regulations for election campaigning in the mass media which have come to light.

6. The Rights and Duties of a Monitoring Group Leader

The leader of a monitoring group is to:

6.1. Organize and plan the group's work and submit questions for consideration by the electoral commission.

6.2. Allocate duties among monitoring group members, give specific instructions to people brought in to work in the group, and check that they are carried out.

6.3. Ensure constant liaison between the monitoring group and electoral commission and submit proposals which require a decision by the commission or its leader.

6.4. At the electoral commission's request brief it on the monitoring group's activity.

7. Concluding Provisions

7.1. Amendments and additions to this Statute are to be made by the Russian Federation Central Electoral Commission in the prescribed manner.

7.2. Electoral commissions of Russian Federation components and district electoral commissions have the right to adopt their own provisions on groups monitoring the observance by participants in the election process of the rules and regulations for election campaigning in the mass media while bearing in mind the requirements of this Statute.

Forecasts & Commentary

Polls Show Chance of 'Left-Wing' Majority

MM0112144695 Moscow IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Dec 95 p 2

[Article by Leonid Sedov of the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions: "Sociologists Predict Left-Wing Revanche"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The weekly surveys conducted by sociologists of the All-Russia Center for the Study of Public Opinion on Social and Economic Questions last month covering a sample of 1,800 people from all the regions of Russia have produced a high level of consistent results which attests to the greater reliability of the methods used.

Probably the main result of these surveys is that the country is on the verge of an attempt at left-wing revanche in which parties from the communist-patriotic spectrum could win an absolute majority in parliament and then be able to form a left-wing government.

The main parties' election prospects today are as follows (the statistics are given as a percentage of seats to be won in the section of the Duma elected from the party lists: The half of the Duma elected by the first-past-the-post method is beyond the scope of this study):

Table 1. The proportion of seats obtained in the Duma by parties clearing the 5-percent hurdle (compared with the figures obtained six weeks ago and published in IZVESTIYA No. 199, 20 October 1995:

Name of Party	Predicted range of distribution of seats (as percentage)	Corresponding forecast in October (as percentage)
Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF]	21-29	12-22
Yabloko	15-18	12-16
Russia Is Our Home [NDR]	14	14-16
Congress of Russian Communities [KRO]	11-12	10-12
Liberal Democratic Party of Russia [LDPR]	8-10	9-10
Russia's Democratic Choice-United Democrats	7-8	8
Party of Working People's Self-Government [PST]	8	10-12
Women of Russia	0-9	0-9
Agrarian Party of Russia [APR]	0	0-8

The reader can judge for himself what changes have occurred over the period in question in the positions of the main rival parties. The positions of Yabloko, Russia's Democratic Choice-United Democrats, and the KRO have clearly strengthened: NDR's potential has declined somewhat, and the PST's prospects have deteriorated noticeably. The clear collapse of the APR is striking (the countryside has clearly switched to the Communists — 17 percent of country people are prepared to vote for them whereas only 3 percent are going to vote for the APR and 8 percent are partly prepared to vote for the NDR). The survey confirms Women of Russia's dependence on the size of the election turnout. They will win seats in the Duma only if those social strata with no strong political convictions who are passive and at the same time moderately discontented with the existing state of affairs turn out to vote.

Be that as it may, the partial successes on the democratic flank noted above should not ignore the fact that with a turnout of 45 percent — the most realistic figure — (voters' willingness to take part in the elections has increased somewhat over the period of the survey) the CPRF, the KRO, and the LDPR will win a total of 54 percent of the Duma seats in the electoral-list districts and that only a very high turnout of over half the registered voters could reduce the share taken by those parties to 47 percent.

The predominance of the intransigent opposition parties in the lower house should not be regarded as an unnatural phenomenon. Such is the reality of the public's feelings and only those who live in cloud cuckoo land can ignore it. The polls show that 55 percent of the country's inhabitants would not be averse to a return to the situation which existed prior to 1985 while only 38 percent reject that. That is how many reactionaries there are — a fairly solid base for the revanchist parties.

Table 2.

Predominantly nostalgic parties	Parties predominantly tolerant of the present
APR — 4.9	Democratic Russia's Choice-United Democrats — 0.4
CPRF — 4.2	Yabloko — 0.7
LDPR — 4.1	PST — 0.8
Women of Russia — 1.3	NDR — 0.9
KRO — 1.1	

Of course, this is only one of the many breakdowns characterizing the situation in the country and placing people on different sides of the invisible psychosocial barricade. It is important to note that as a rule parties' electorates are grouped approximately as shown above. For example, when talking about the principles of Russia's state organization 50 percent of respondents believe that the country needs the establishment of firm order by dictatorial methods or have no clear view on this subject and 49 percent are opposed to that. When broken down by electorates, however, the figures for people holding those views are as follows:

Table 3.

Parties predominantly positive or tolerant toward dictatorship	**Parties predominantly negative toward dictatorship**
LDPR — 2.2	Democratic Russia's Choice-United Democrats — 0.4
APR — 1.7	NDR — 0.5
CPRF — 1.3	Women of Russia — 0.6
KRO — 1.0	Yabloko — 0.7
	PST — 0.9

The regular distribution of voters among opposing groups of roughly identical composition produced by comparisons like this indicates the high likelihood that the new Duma will be far more confrontational and inclined to bipolarity than the present one. The left-wing parties' realistic possibility of winning a "controlling share" of the votes will encourage them to pool their resources and in turn will incline the anti-Communist and reformist forces including NDR — the "government party" — to unite as well.

It is absolutely obvious that as long as the regulations prescribed in the Constitution are observed the main battle will be fought over the premiership — this will happen in February 1996 at a time, furthermore, when the president does not have the right to dissolve the Duma (Article 109 of the Constitution). The incumbent premier could prove to be a figure not entirely suited as a consolidator of the reformist forces. In any event, according to the main parties' voting figures Chernomyrdin's confidence rating is currently higher than his no-confidence rating only among supporters of NDR, Democratic Russia's Choice-United Democrats, and Women of Russia and his rating is neutral (42:42) among Yabloko voters.

The Duma elections could be more of a "trial run" ["nulevoy tur] for the presidential election than a means of achieving government. There is no politician in the country at present capable of playing the part of a national leader. Nor can there be such a figure so long as the aforementioned division of the country over the most fundamental questions of the organization of its life persists. Election success for the left-wing parties could considerably boost the already rising popularity ratings of such people as Lebed (13 percent according to November's figures) and Zyuganov (11 percent) and turn them (particularly the former) into realistic contenders for the presidency. The only realistic rivals to Lebed on the pro- reform side at present are Yavlinskiy and Sv. Fedorov.

The grim prospect of a victory for the communist-patriotic forces in the parliamentary elections and after that in the presidential election raises questions for the democratic and reformist section of society which they were unable to answer during the period of confrontation in September-October 1993.

Zyuganov Interviewed on 'Business Russia' Program

Part 1

LD0212204995

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 0934 GMT on 30 November, during the "Forum" slot of the "Business Russia" program, carries a 14-minute live studio interview with Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation [CPRF], by moderator Aleksandr Akopov. This is the first in a two-part interview series with Zyuganov.

Akopov begins: "Good day, esteemed television viewers, Business Russia's 'Forum' program is on the air. We are continuing to discuss the economic programs of the electoral blocs and associations. Today, we have in the studio Gennadiy Andreyevich Zyuganov of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation. It is the first time that we have invited to our studio a representative of the Communist Party, let alone its chairman, and it must honestly be said that for a substantial part of our viewers, the word communism and communist strikes on the whole a somewhat discordant note with regard to the activities they are engaged in as entrepreneurs and managers of enterprises. It is understandable that the Communist Party's program is raising many questions among representatives of Russia's business community. That is why I would like you to speak in general terms about your ideas for what should happen in the economy."

Zyuganov replies: "As for the business world, we have not severed relations with it for a single day or moment. Just recently, I have met industrialists and entrepreneurs in the Far East, the Transbaykal region, West Siberia, and the Urals. Recently, I have met all of Leningrad's business community, and this dialogue is continuing. There has just been a comprehensive conference, Business and the future of Russia, and a roundtable was held at the Chamber of Commerce and Industry. There was a very interesting meeting with the investors of all major Western companies at which many interesting questions were asked, but unfortunately, our television does not cover this very well. Even foreign television does it better."

"If one considers the real situation of the economy, it is disastrous. The 50 per cent production slump already means that the production apparatus is ruined. In light industry,the slump is almost 70 percent,and in the military-industrial complex,it is over 90 percent. When the slump exceeds 30 percent,there is a breakdown of all main production assets, irrespective of the form of government or power in the state. Therefore, our task now is to create the conditions, irrespective of the form of ownership, for everyone in the country to work well, so that it is more advantageous to work and produce goods and not to steal and speculate. This is our fundamental stance.

"As regards the forms of ownership, one of the main causes for the collapse of the Soviet Union was that everything had come to belong to the state. Even collective farm and cooperative property had started to be a type of state property. [sighs deeply] In order to issue a grannie with two bags of grain, it was necessary to ring the district executive committee. We are in favor of finding the correct balance between state, collective, and shared and private forms of ownership so that an entrepreneur, a businessman, and a commodity producer knows the rules according to which he can work. When transport prices, electricity rates, and customs are revised each quarter, you are unable to plan a single production-technical operation and many of those who have started to engage in business activity — from the private farmer to the entrepreneur and banker — have already been completely ruined.

"Therefore, we are proposing a whole range of specific things: a new budget policy. We have already drawn up a budget which encourages above all every kind of investment aimed at investment in the industry of the future, light industry, the infrastructure, many other industries, and agriculture, and which plans to sharply cut taxes, but to introduce the type of taxes which would definitely be paid. It is impossible to pay taxes of 90-95 kopecks on the ruble; you have nothing left even to pay wages, let alone for investment and the expansion of production for the future. We are also proposing a whole range of fairly interesting programs which have been prepared by learned academic scholars — our science has produced approximately one-third of the world's inventions — programs which will be priorities. There, too, both taxes and everything else will be quite a bit lower. There are approximately 500 such projects drawn up by the best scientists, to which many investors, above all foreign ones, are attracted. But we would like to encourage those who in their own motherland are engaged in commodity production."

Akopov then asks Zyuganov to what extent he would be prepared to revise, for instance, the results of privatization, a matter of concern to very many. Zyuganov replies: "Already in the present State Duma, it was proposed to sum up the results of the first stage of privatization. If you are erecting a building and have built the foundation, you check without fail whether you can proceed with erecting walls on it, the efficiency of doing this, and what it will yield, above all for the country's business community and whether citizens and the motherland are benefiting from it. In the West, say, I studied the experience of privatization in France. The main stage in this is the assessment. This is done for eight to ten enterprises per annum, and if you are not confident that after privatization an enterprise will work better, they do not proceed.

"On the other hand, our privatizers have refused even to take stock and determine what is needed to be done subsequently. Now a great deal has happened. I am a fairly responsible politician, I have seen a lot in this life and I am quite well into things. I understand perfectly well that if tomorrow you start taking everything away, firing will break out everywhere right from the Baltics to the Pacific and it will be a great calamity for everyone, both for those starting this and those retaliating.

"Therefore our point of view is that everything should be looked at in a very balanced and reasonable way. If privatized enterprises are operating well, yielding increased output and developing successfully, then for goodness sake, they should be supported or ensured a guaranteed market and assisted. If privatized enterprises have been shut down and are not doing well, it is necessary to check what is needed in order to get the business going again, and they should be helped to sort things out, etc. And if an enterprise has been privatized and has been shut down and everything stolen or pilfered right, left, and center and nothing remains of the enterprise, no politicians should become involved in this, but it should be left to the appropriate bodies, as is the case in any normal state. We are interested not in abolishing forms of ownership by some decree, but in ensuring the rules of competition between its various forms so that the state gets richer and stronger.

"It is written right here in our pre-election platform: privatization and nationalization are two important levers of economic policy. They must serve the flourishing of the motherland and the strengthening of the state. When the state is being turned into nothing, when people all around are growing poorer, when people, after establishing business, are ruined six months later, when we are leaving all our markets, the Eastern European market, North Africa, the Near East... [changes thought] I recently met the entire Indian leadership. After all, we sold them a very great quantity of goods. Their army is 70 to 80 percent armed with our weapons. We are now not even supplying them with spare parts.

"In many privatized enterprises, they do not know what to do with their output. The state should ensure normal links and preferential terms for this kind of contacts. Everyone gains from this, both those whom we supply and we ourselves. You know, what alarms me most is that we are abandoning even our markets which took 1,000 years to build up: Belarus, Ukraine, and Kazakhstan. After all, they are supplying 70-80 percent of their output to markets of the Russian Federation and we are unable to make a single combine without the motors from the Kharkov works, without the many tubes which are produced in Ukraine. Let's restore links, let's encourage and support these ties. It is very important to protect our commodity producers."

Akopov says: The feeling is that very often hidden behind the words commodity producer, state interests, and security is the encouragement of some loafers and people who are unable to find their bearings either under socialism, communism, or capitalism alike. Zyuganov replies, saying that any country, any people "has approximately two percent who are inclined to do scientific research and are capable of making discoveries. There are a few percentages who are inclined toward crime, and there are some 5-7 percent who are capable of organizing substantial enterprise. The others, I assure you, will do hired work, work for wages, prizes, bonuses, and everything else. This is natural and normal. And what is being offered now? Twenty million jobless. Forty million specialists with higher qualification, which our business world will badly need, have left to serve their competitors abroad." When questioned about these figures, Zyuganov says: "I am listing here only official figures provided by our statistics service."

Akopov then asks Zyuganov who in his party is engaged in drawing up the economic aspects of his program. Zyuganov replies: "We have a very large movement which is called Spiritual Heritage, our own expert centers which include representatives of major academic laboratories and corresponding schools — say, Academician Koptyug, a member of the leadership of our party, heads the Siberian branch of the Academy of Sciences, one of the strongest in the country with over 70 major institutes and several thousands of people with a higher scientific qualification working there. We have now a whole series of specific developments. For instance, Academician Sokolov, together with a group of talented scientists, proposed a qualitatively new budget. By the way, I offered it to Chernomyrdin and his entire team and told him: Look, after all, here we are supporting our own people, we are developing the right areas, we are investing funds in what tomorrow will yield a magnificent yield. They are still thinking about this.

"Recently, our Petr Romanov, together with a group of specialists of a very high level and scientists and directors, held a council with 1,000 people taking part. A conversion option was prepared, in accordance with which our own business activity is encouraged — the sale of arms could bring in huge funds, we used to sell almost $20 billion worth, now we sell less than two percent — and whereby investments are made into the conversion of production and jobs are created for the production of qualitatively new goods for civilian purposes, and this would be done in a gradual and reasonable way, without throwing people onto the streets and without the loss of technological skills. That is another ready program.

"Recently, specialist Georgiy Kostin and a group of our lads prepared a number of programs connected, well, with the gas and oil industry. Also, at the plant where he works, he mastered the production of these products, changing over the plant from the production of missile engines to bolts and locks and many interesting fasteners. He even started to oust French firms from the market, and he was also nipped in the bud. There are also a number of other interesting ideas."

Part 2

LD0212224995

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian at 0934 GMT on 1 December, during the "Forum" slot of the "Business Russia" program, broadcasts a 16-minute live studio interview with Gennadiy Zyuganov, chairman of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation, by Aleksandr Akopov. This is the second installment of a two-part interview.

Replying to Akopov's question on how the economy could be managed from an ideological standpoint, Zyganov says: "Having drawn all the conclusions from recent and more distant history, we are clearly aware that it is very important not to resolve things by decree, but to ensure economic competition between various forms. What is important, let me stress this, is that the financial, budgetary, and taxation rules of this game should be clear and understood."

Zyuganov says that "recently" he held a meeting with "business circles" which invest at most between $1 billion and $2 billion in the Russian economy. He contrasted this "paltry" amount with the Chinese market methods and praised developments there, including tax-free concessions to new firms. As a result, more than $100 billion were invested in China this year "without any fears that a communist government is in power there."

"If we create beneficial conditions in our country, investors will gladly come here and invest, whereas currently they are not even guaranteed elementary personal safety," Zyuganov says.

"Do you know what tax we all have to pay? A 100 percent tax is paid to racketeers," Zyuganov adds.

Akopov asks Zyuganov whether communism and market relations are compatible. Zyuganov replies: "What is the definition of the market? It is the production of goods, exchange of goods, and normal fiscal relations. The concept of the market from its inception is at least 7,000 years old. For instance, there used to be slave trade in America. Here in Russia there never used to be slave trade, ours was a more civilized market. Production of goods must be ensured for the market, along with the availability of money to buy them with and to put into circulation. In a situation in which one in two people fails to get even a paltry wage, I say paltry, because wages have declined by a factor of five, or six, well, can a normal commodity circulation exist?"

Zyuganov proceedes to give an example of abnormal market conditions: a tractor costs 70 million rubles, a cow between 2 and 3 million. Twenty cows have to be sold to buy one tractor. We should have such rules of the game as would make it profitable to make and sell tractors.

"Non-punitive fuel prices and normal transport prices must be introduced countrywide, for all engaged in commodity production, businessmen, entrepreneurs. There should be state regulation in this area," added Zyuganov.

On the subject of agriculture, Zyuganov said the most effective agriculture is to be found in Holland and Israel. Not a single hectare in Israel is owned privately, he adds, a proof that the form of ownership does not constitute the main criterion of effectiveness. This accords with Russia's own traditions and if private ownership of land should be introduced, even after a referendum, a "war" would result, because the Cossacks would never agree, just as they earlier rejected Stolypin's reforms (in the early part of this century).

He goes on: "Our point of view is this: a dacha, a household plot should be sizeable and good, near your house, or your garage, do whatever you like indeed, it is all yours — but land should belong to those who live on it and who till it. Good norms and rules must be introduced. We want to support the peasants and farmers and individual producers of goods in the first instance."

Zyuganov praises agricultural subsidies in the West and state support for farmers in the United States, who know they can sell their produce at better prices if delivered on time, at slightly smaller prices if delivered later, and so forth. The United States even specified that their credits must be spent on buying agricultural produce from U.S. farms. The same prices must be introduced in towns and the countryside alike, otherwise towns will bankrupt the countryside and will suffer hunger as a result.

[Zyuganov says workforces of enterprises must be endowed with far-reaching rights to determine their own affairs. "There are areas which will be more effective with private capital. There are areas which will suffer if deprived of state regulation. That is why it is altogether impermissible to let the industrial complex fall into anybody else's hands, otherwise there will be chaos. Around 80 percent of our country's population is currently undergoing a process of proletarianization. Of late we have not had any class consciousness. Professors from the Moscow State University turn into proletarians, because they do not get anything. They do not even get enough money to buy themselves a television set. That is why it is very important to introduce such rules of welfare protection, of targeted support, as will guarantee survival for people, deliver their basic needs for clothing, food and many other things. If business people fail to understand that, everyone will lose everything. That is why our program also provides for reliable welfare protection for veterans, pensioners, families with many children, lone parents, invalids and many other categories."

"We are for a sensible combination of private entrepreneurial activity, welfare support, and a strong state, able to stand up for its interests on the world markets and in politics at large," Zyuganov says.

Akopov asks whether Zyuganov would regard 15 to 20 percent of votes in his favor as a victory. Zyuganov replies that "even if the Duma is filled 100 percent with the opposition, nothing can be radically changed given the present structure of power. We must prepare ourselves for the next step — the presidential elections — and for changing the structure of power to favor the executive- administrative and legislative branches of power. I am a supporter of very strong governments. I suggested to Chernomyrdin: Write down everything you need for normal economic activities to take place, to support everyone who works. We will vote straightaway, but we make just one condition: your program should be for a year, as a minimum, and each quarter you should come and give an account of what you have done, how, what is going badly, so that things can be settled. If you fail to cope, go. We are ready to authorize anything to avoid dual economic controls," he says. This will avoid the current chaotic situation in which people do not know within whose remit things are, the presidential, or prime ministerial. Legislators should be able to exercise control over the laws they adopted. Elementary order and normal organization of public and economic life can then prevail. The extreme left and right wings should be kept out of power, Zyuganov concludes.

He adds: "We are ready to establish a bloc of state-patriotic forces. We only set three conditions here: Russia's territorial integrity must be preserved, peace upon her expanse must be preserved and prosperity must enter the house of all, everyone, not just the chosen few. We are not against those who were elected (pun on the "chosen few"), but prosperity should be in everyone's home. So, these are our simple conditions. We are ready to join forces with anyone, whoever shares in these highest and main values, so that the country can develop steadily and normally."

Russia Concerned Over Tajik Armed Provocations

LD0412073095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0721 GMT 4 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] DUSHANBE, December 4 (ITAR-TASS) — Gunmen of the Tajik opposition fired three times on positions of the 12th post of the Moskovskiy border detachment from the Afghan territory. ITAR-TASS learnt at the press centre of the command of Russian border troops in Tajikistan on Monday that 61 rockets were fired at the post from neighbouring mountains.

There are no casualties among Russian border guards. However, the post was damaged.

The command expresses serious concern over escalating tension on the Tajik-Afghan border, especially at the Shuroabat direction, where, starting from December 1, gunmen of the Tajik opposition repeatedly fired at the 12th post of the Moskovskiy border detachment from the Afghan territory.

All-in-all, more than 200 rockets were fired at patrols and directly at the border post. All these provocations run counter to the Teheran ceasefire agreements as well as to initiatives of participants in the Ashgabat negotiating process on a peaceful settlement of the inter-Tajik conflict.

ITAR-TASS learnt from reliable sources that the Tajik Security Ministry and some managers of other structures in the republic brought serious concern over the escalating tension at the Shuroabat direction of the Tajik-Afghan border to the attention of the U.N. permanent observer mission and the joint conciliation commission on monitoring the Teheran understandings.

Baltic Assembly Concerned About Russia's Baltic Aims

LD0112154595 Riga Radio Riga Network in Latvian 1400 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The current political realities in the Baltic states are influenced by Russia's efforts to restore its empire, its colonial attitude to the Baltic countries, and the strivings to review the treaty on the limitation of conventional weapons in Europe. This was stated by Estonian President Lennart Meri when he opened the scheduled session of the Baltic Assembly in Tallinn today. Arnis Krauze continues from Tallinn about the work of the Baltic Assembly:

[Krauze] At the Baltic Assembly today, parliamentarians from Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia mainly concerned themselves with aspects of security in the Baltic states. The Lithuanian opposition leader, Vytautas Landsbergis, emphasized in his speech that the Baltic Assembly ought to adopt a statement indicating to the world that Russian troops have still not been completely withdrawn from Latvia and Estonia, even though treaties to this effect have been signed. Several deputies of the Estonian parliament expressed their ideas on the recent statement from the Russian State Duma that expressed its claims against NATO's eastward expansion. Deputy Juris Sinka of the Latvian Saeima, in his speech, emphasized that Latvia, Lithuania, and Estonia, as sovereign states, have the right to decide for themselves whether they will join the NATO. And just now I've invited Mr. Sinka to the telephone. Go ahead:

[Begin recording] [Sinka] The security debate involved women as well, and as a member of the Presidium, Professor Alatalu of Estonia, said women are starting to talk about security too, that this matter must be taken very seriously and effectively. Of course, this subject affects all three Baltic countries, as I said before, and it is to be expected that the session will adopt a resolution or statement expressing its alarm and perplexity at the statement of 20 October this year from the Russian Federation Council, which came only a month — less than a month — after Russia had also signed the resolution in Bornholm, that no threats are to be allowed in any event in interstate relations. And this draft resolution — statement — says among other things that each state has the indisputable right to independently choose and freely implement its foreign policy course. The three Baltic countries regard as one of the basic guarantees of security their consistent progress toward the European Union, and ever closer involvement in the cooperation of the European Union's member states and the joint security structures. It is definitely the aim of Estonian, Latvian, and Lithuanian foreign policy to become NATO member states, and they will consistently strive to attain that aim.

[Krauze] Yes, just a moment, Mr. Sinka: I have a question for you. At the moment Latvian-Lithuanian relations are strained. Do you think this Baltic Assembly here can manage to achieve some solution?

[Sinka] I think so, because as the Lithuanians have already said, our friends the Estonians are pleased to help us at any time; this, then, is a family affair that should be settled here, and we shouldn't have to go to some other international court. [end recording]

[Krauze] So much for Juris Sinka. Another speaker at the Baltic Assembly today was Saeima deputy Ilmars Bisers, and he said the Baltic countries, if they get into the European Union, will have to tear down the borders between them. And he noted with regret that unfortunately even more new customs points are being set up on Latvia's borders with Estonia and Lithuania, and so for a while the eastern border with Russia will be left (?neglected).

Assembly Meets on Defense Cooperation

LD0312224795 Tallinn Estonian Television Network in Russian 1645 GMT 3 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The seventh session of the Baltic Assembly, which ended on 2 December, finally adopted 14 documents, two of them concerning the effective working of the organ itself, five on socio-economic matters in the region, six on political matters, and one on emigration and refugees.

In a resolution on defense cooperation, the participants of the assembly recommended their governments to adopt measures to improve cooperation in the spheres of defense and security. The sides were committed, through setting up a joint command body, to widen cooperation on the control of air-space and maritime borders, and to join efforts on standardization of weaponry and communication systems.

The participants of the session adopted a letter to the delegations of the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe in which they proposed that, before deciding on the membership of the Russian Federation, it would be required from Russia to take upon itself the obligation to respect independence and sovereign rights of the Baltic states.

For the the coming six months, the presidency of the assembly will pass from Estonia to Lithuania. Egidijus Bickauskas, the leader of the Lithuanian delegation, was elected the chairman of the presidium of the assembly.

Estonian President Addresses Assembly

WS0412111295 Tallinn ETA in English 2334 GMT 3 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tallinn, December 3 — Estonian President Lennart Meri delivered a speech to the Baltic Assembly, calling the Baltic states to look upon the tragic experiences of 1939 and 1940. Although the three Baltic countries had declared cooperation and unity in Geneva in 1934, they were not ready for unite action in 1939 and 1940, when the Soviet Union occupied all three one-by-one.

"The reality of foreign policy of the Baltic countries is at present branded by (Russia's) ambitions to restore the empire, its colonial attitude towards the Baltic countries as "near-by foreign lands", attempts to change the conventional arms control agreements, and imperialist incomprehension of the right of small nations for security, connected in today's world with integration to Europe and the democratic structures of the world — the European Union and NATO," Estonian President said.

Estonian Foreign Minister Siim Kallas also said that economic cooperation was one of the priorities of Baltic cooperation, especially fast implementation of the free trade agreement of agricultural production. Siim Kallas emphasized the importance of parliamentary cooperation, which was insufficient in 1930s and also helped along the easily-achieved occupation. The Baltic Assembly could work hand-in-hand with parliaments, trying to unify the political courses of the three countries, Kallas said.

Mediation Role for Assembly Proposed

WS0412110995 Tallinn ETA in English 2334 GMT 3 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Tallinn, December 3 — Arnold Ruutel, Chairman of the Presidium of the Baltic Assembly, which gathered for its seventh session to Tallinn on Friday [1 December], stressed the importance of Baltic cooperation in integration to Europe.

Ruutel proposed a resolution project to the Assembly, which would enable the third Baltic country to act as referee in case the two other countries have disagreements. Latvian-Lithuanian oil row has been the hottest issue instead of the Estonian-Latvian "fishing war".

The Baltic Assembly has cooperated well with the Nordic Council, the West European Union Assembly and the parliamentary advisory council of the Benelux countries, Ruutel said. The negative aspects are the strained relations of the Baltic countries with Russia, shadowed by Russia's unfounded accusation of infringement of human rights in Latvia and Estonia, he added.

U.S. Disapproval of Clinton's Bosnia Policy Reported

LD0312084795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0746 GMT 3 Dec 95

[By Vladimir Kikilo]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] WASHINGTON, December 3 (ITAR-TASS) — U.S. President Bill Clinton took advantage of his traditional radio address to the nation in a bid to gain support from the public and the U.S. congress to his decision to send over 1,000 U.S. soldiers to Bosnia.

The U.S. president, currently making a tour of Germany, addressed his compatriots from the German city of Baumholder where he visited a U.S. tank unit stationed there. U.S. soldiers deployed in this city will be sent to Bosnia in the next few weeks as part of multinational forces.

Both in the U.S. Congress and beyond an increasing number of people are coming out against the deployment of around 20,000 U.S.soldiers in the Balkans. The U.S. president stressed that U.S. soldiers were not being sent there to fight, but to ensure peace. Clinton dwelt a lot on the importance of the U.S. leading role in Europe, no matter whether peace settlement in Northern Ireland or the fulfillment of a peace agreement on Bosnia were at issue. The U.S. president pointed out that without U.S. participation the planned operation was doomed to failure.

He admitted that the operation planned in Bosnia was not expected to be an easy one and that it was fraught with danger because in Bosnia, like in other parts of the world, there are people who will find it difficult to overcome a feeling of hatred and who would prefer to destroy, rather than to restore, Clinton noted.

According to a recent public opinion poll recently conducted by ABC television, around half of the U.S. population disapprove of the policy pursued by the Clinton administration in former Yugoslavia.

Kozyrev Stresses 'Cementing' Partnership With NATO

LD0112212495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1949 GMT 1 Dec 95

[By Denis Perkin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 1 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev on Friday [1 December] said that another round of Bosnian peace talks might be held in Moscow "in spring or in early 1996." Kozyrev spoke at a conference on European security which gathered prominent Russian political analysts.

The conference "Problems of European Security in the Context of Preparations for the OSCE Foreign Ministers' Council" was held in the Russian Foreign Ministry premises in Moscow.

Kozyrev said Defence Minister Pavel Grachev's visit to Brussels stepped up the progress in Russia's becoming an equal partner in the Bosnian settlement.

The foreign minister singled out the need for restoring economies of warring parties which will become a priority soon. The international peacekeeping operation in the region should be followed by a "civilian" one, he said. However, he expressed regret that neither a draft document to this effect nor clear understanding of how to do it existed as of today.

Touching upon Russian-NATO relations, Kozyrev stressed the need for cementing the sides' partnership. Cooperation with the Alliance shall be considered an alternative to NATO expansion, he said adding that it would help create a new model of European security.

Kozyrev said he hopes that issues of political interaction will be addressed at a session of the NATO Council, which is scheduled to take place in Brussels on December 6.

Another important forum will be held in Budapest on December 7-8, he said referring to the forthcoming session of the Council of Ministers of the Organisation for Security and Cooperation in Europe.

The meeting will be centered around the model of extensive and comprehensive security. "After quite complicated diplomatic struggle, we have good chances to adopt an extended document on a concept of such security," Kozyrev said. He described the forum's major goal as ensuring that "all European institutions find their place in this model, with the OSCE playing the central part."

'Difficult Tasks' Remain in NATO Relations

MM0112182295 Moscow KRASNAYA ZVEZDA in Russian 1 Dec 95 p 1

[Commentary by Aleksandr Pelts: "Model of Future Security System Created in Brussels. Russia Will Occupy a Fitting Place in it, Commensurate With Its Status as an Equal Partner of the Other European Countries"]

[FBIS Translated Text] This [reference to headline] was the main result of the three-day visit by Army General Pavel Grachev, Russian Federation defense minister, to

Brussels, where he delivered a report at a conference of NATO defense ministers.

"I am sure that my visit was a success and that its results will strengthen still more Russia's position on key questions of European security," Army Gen. Pavel Grachev underlined at the concluding press conference. He also reported that his report at the conference of the 16 NATO countries' defense ministers was received with interest and understanding. In particular, the defense ministers of France, Britain, Germany, the United States, the Netherlands, Belgium, Norway, Spain, and Italy pointed out the need for Russia's participation in the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina, and expressed their satisfaction at the fact that the negotiations between the Russian and U.S. defense ministers had passed from the "realm of discussion to deeds, from theory to practice."

What does this mean? First of all that it proved possible not just to initiate a free discussion and a normal, civilized exchange of opinions on the most pressing problems of European security, but also to resolve in practical terms the question of how Russia can participate in safeguarding it. Apart from this, the system of political control over the forthcoming peacekeeping operation in Bosnia-Herzegovina also assumed a concrete outline. The work of the special "Russia-NATO" consultative mechanism during the execution of the peacekeeping operation will provide an opportunity to test out in practice the strength and reliability of our cooperation. It is proposed to record the agreement on creating the consultative mechanism in a special memorandum, which has already been drafted.

Purely military contacts between our peacekeeping forces and NATO have also been put on a practical footing. As Army Gen. Pavel Grachev noted, it is important that it has proved possible to achieve a kind of coordination in which each side preserves a certain autonomy in its actions. It is also proposed to test out its effectiveness at the imminent command staff exercises, in which a corps of NATO rapid-reaction forces, the U.S. 1st armored division, and a task force of Russian peacekeeping forces will participate.

Of course, several problems came to light during the visit that provoked mixed reactions among NATO defense ministers. For example, the Turkish defense minister insisted on the OSCE [Organization on Security and Cooperation in Europe] Treaty being unconditionally implemented. However, the Russian side, while emphasizing that it has discharged its obligations in general terms, has been forced to take the new geopolitical circumstances into account when acting. As Army Gen. Pavel Grachev noted at the press conference, the U.S. defense secretary expressed understanding at this approach of Russia's to the problem.

But all in all, one can note that, despite the serious and important work for Russia carried out in Brussels, there still remain quite a few problems concerning Russian cooperation with NATO. Many difficult tasks still have to be accomplished. They include producing final decisions on Bosnia, questions of flank restrictions, and the establishment of cooperation under the "Partnership for Peace" program and the "16 plus one" formula. This is a matter for the future. But a firm basis for these and other tasks has been laid.

Deputy Minister Reports on Grachev Visit to Israel

LD0412115095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1109 GMT 4 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Anatoliy Golovastov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BEIRUT, December 4 (ITAR-TASS) — The understandings between Russia and Israel, reached during the first visit by Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev to that state, will help to increase Russia's presence in the Middle East and to strengthen its role in the region, said Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Viktor Posuvalyuk, the Russian president's special representative in the Middle East, speaking with Russian journalists in Damascus late on Sunday evening.

He noted that Arab countries display great interest in these understandings. Some ask questions of whether these understandings may damage Russia's role as a co-sponsor for peace search in the Middle East.

"We can say definitely that the results of the Russian Defence Minister's visit to Israel, far from interfering, will help the role of the Russian state as a co-sponsor of the Mid-East peace process," Posuvalyuk stressed.

"The greater Russia's presence in the region, the more effective are services it can render to participants in the process," he said.

The Russian representative stressed that there is no contradiction between the agreement signed by Grachev in Israel and Russia's role in the region. Posuvalyuk said that this agreement is in the range of classic traditional agreements on military cooperation.

The deputy minister noted that Russia has relations of cooperation, including in the military sphere, with several Arab countries. "We seek to develop further military and technical relations with Arab countries, including Syria," Posuvalyuk continued.

Sharing general impressions about his Mid-East tour, during which he visited Israel, the Palestinian national autonomy, Lebanon and Syria, the deputy minister pointed to animated economic activities in the Gaza strip.

He said that Palestinians now face two main tasks: Struggle against terrorism and solution of economic problems.

The Russian president's representative departed from Damascus for Amman on Monday where he will meet Jordanian King Hussein.

Grachev, Israeli Officials Sign Agreements

LD0112184895 Moscow NTV in Russian
1600 GMT 1 Dec 95

[From the "Segodnya" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev is continuing his foreign trip. In Tel Aviv today the Russian minister came to agreement with his Israeli counterpart on military cooperation. Next there will be negotiations with the Israeli Foreign Minister and a meeting with the Israeli president. The visit has not been without incident, however. Before showing you a detailed report from Aleksandr Gerasimov in Israel, though, may I offer our apologies for the poor technical quality.

[Gerasimov — video shows Grachev, Israeli officials at signing ceremony] Pavel Grachev's two-hour talks with Shim'on Peres, the Israeli prime minister and defence minister, ended with the signing of a memorandum on military cooperation, and a plan for contacts for next year. To judge from the titles of the documents, Tel Aviv has today been finally crossed off the list of Moscow's potential enemies. Grachev said Moscow planned to establish full relations with Israel in the near future. It looks as though after the relatively unsuccessful attempt to become the main peacemaker in the Bosnian conflict, the Kremlin is striving well in advance to get into the front ranks in the Middle East theatre.

[Begin Grachev recording] I am first and foremost a military man, so I propose a toast to our armies — the Army of Russia, the Army of Israel — may they build relations such as will promote the settlement of all conflicts and ensure the security, in conjunction with other states, not only in the Middle East region, but also in other regions of the world. [end recording]

[Gerasimov] As we learned, Moscow and Tel Aviv are legalizing relations between enterprises of the military industrial complex, which have existed on the quiet for several years already. The development of new types of weapons on the basis of Russian equipment and Israeli electronics is not ruled out. Pavel Grachev said that the Russian Rosvooruzheniye [Russian Armaments] state company would not be the last counter-agent in their relations — which may mean a resumption of weapons trading. According to information from Israeli sources, in addition to the two documents officially signed, there exists a whole package of proposals and protocols.

Israeli is one of the biggest markets. Its army, which regards itself as the victor in five wars, is capable of taking on a fair quantity of military equipment.

The Russian defence minister was a big success with former Soviet Jews who were veterans of the Second World War. The veterans, who consider the drill songs of the 1950s to be Jewish national songs, wished Grachev success in establishing qualitatively new relations between Israel and Russia.

The first day of the official visit nearly turned out to be the last: a few minutes before the ceremony to lay a wreath on the grave of Yitzhaq Rabin, the Israeli security service discovered a bag left near the gravestone. The special anti-terrorist unit managed to clear it away rapidly and with a great deal of noise. The contents of the bag remained unknown. Aleksandr Gerasimov and Aleksey Cherevikov, NTV, from Israel.

Envoy Dispels Concerns over Military Deal

LD0212205695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
2044 GMT 2 Dec 95

[By Anatoliy Golovastov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BEIRUT, December 2 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian special envoy to the Middle East Viktor Posuvalyuk hurried on Saturday to dispel Arab countries' concerns aroused by an agreement on military cooperation signed by Israeli Prime Minister Shim'on Peres and Russian Defence Minister Pavel Grachev in Tel Aviv on Friday.

Speaking at a press conference in Beirut, Posuvalyuk said this is a traditional agreement. Russia has already signed similar agreements with a number of Arab countries.

"We have repeatedly said that Russia calls for strengthening relations with all countries of the region and that we are open to military cooperation with other countries," he said.

He particularly noted that Russia and Syria have had a close friendship and cooperation in the military area for several years.

Posuvalyuk arrived in Beirut on Saturday as part of his Middle East tour. During the trip, he has visited Israel.

On Sunday, he is scheduled to be in Damascus for talks with Syrian leaders.

In Lebanon, the Russian envoy had talks with Lebanese President Ilyas al-Hirawi and Foreign Ministry General Secretary Zafer Hassan [name as received].

Meeting journalists after his talks with Hassan, Posuvalyuk said that Russia attaches great importance to relations with Lebanon.

He said Russian Vice-Prime Minister and Minister of Foreign Economic Relations Oleg Davydov is expected to pay an official visit to Lebanon early next year.

In addition to bilateral relations, the Lebanese meetings and talks focused on the Middle East peace process.

"We believe that new possibilities have emerged for invigorating the peace process, and we have to use them," he said.

Violence in all forms which occurs in the Middle East hampers the peace process. Peace in the region must be established on the basis of U.N. decisions providing for the territorial integrity and sovereignty of Lebanon, he said.

Grachev Displeased With Arms Trade Reports

LD0312202095 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Dec 95

[Video report by V. Flyarkovskiy; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Today Pavel Grachev, who is visiting Israel, had his first encounter with Israeli weapons. The Russian minister was shown modern Israeli aviation and elite subunits of the Israeli Armed Forces at the (Romat David) air base. The minister claims that familiarization is the main goal of his visit. He was extremely displeased by a radio report alleging that Russia and Israel were getting ready for mutual deliveries of weapons and technologies. Chances for peace in this region are the only thing that is interesting for the Russian military in the Middle East, Grachev said.

Possible peace between Israel and Syria is linked, as is known, to the future of the Golan Heights. The minister made a helicopter flight over the Heights and the whole of Israel's north. Minister Pavel Grachev gave naval binoculars to (Benni Lidor), chief of staff of the northern district, twice as powerful as the ones the chief of staff had. That was the end of military cooperation between the two sides. The rest of the Russian defense minister's stay near the strategic Golan Heights was nothing but familiarization. [video shows Grachev at air base, various aircraft]

Kozyrev Seen Upstaged by Grachev Successes

MK0212150395 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 2 Dec 95 pp 1-2

[Report by Svetlana Petrova under the "Problem" rubric: "Once Again About the Fate of the Russian Foreign Ministry Head. Ironically, Career Diplomat Kozyrev Has Been Upstaged by Army General Grachev in Terms of Diplomatic Activity and Effectiveness"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The latest foreign policy outings of Defense Minister Pavel Grachev against the backdrop of the faint activity of the moribund Foreign Ministry and the person of Andrey Kozyrev, who is paying much more attention to his election campaign, have raised the question of who can better cope with diplomatic tasks — a well-educated career diplomat with refined manners, or a straightforward and uncouth general with a typical military way of thinking? To all appearances, in the present situation it is the latter who is gaining the upper hand.

Yet another confirmation of this fact was Andrey Kozyrev's recent statement that the Foreign Ministry was not aware of preparations for Grachev's Brussels visit to attend a NATO Council session. This situation, of course, stems from Boris Yeltsin's statements about Kozyrev showing the president's dilemma of "whether or not he should be fired." It seems that they were not made by chance.

Yet, since foreign policy in Russia is presidential, the head of state is entitled to task high-ranking officials with exercising some functions or other in this area. For a dialogue with NATO, Yeltsin's entrusting precisely Grachev with preparing the visit and attending the alliance council session appears fully natural, for the session discussed a package of purely military matters concerning a settlement in Bosnia.

The defense minister drew up the text of his address, submitted it to the president, and after that the drafting of materials for the NATO Council session proceeded collectively. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has learned that the text was for the most part drawn up in the Kremlin by Dmitriy Ryurikov and Yuriy Baturin, presidential advisers on international affairs and national security respectively, who largely contributed to the organization of an interdepartmental discussion. In the process not only were the Defense Ministry's views taken into account, but also those of other ministries and agencies, particularly the Foreign Ministry.

For this reason the question of why Andrey Kozyrev turned out to be out of tune remains open, the blame for that lying with the Foreign Ministry head himself.

Then a different question concerning the ethics of teamwork arises. If the foreign minister did not know about what was going on given that his subordinates — deputies and department chiefs — were involved in the effort, this attests yet again to the complete disorganization of work at the Foreign Ministry — or confirms suspicions that the Foreign Ministry deliberately pushed Grachev forward as a whipping-boy with regard to the Russian stance on Bosnia. In addition, this clearly shows the diplomatic ministry's inability to comply with the president's explicit orders set forth in his two edicts and the statute on the Foreign Ministry, under which the Foreign Ministry is tasked with coordinating the foreign policy actions of all other agencies.

Grachev, who achieved considerable results in Brussels, acted there in close coordination with representatives of the Foreign Ministry, particularly Vitaliy Churkin, Russian Federation ambassador to NATO. By the way, according to available information, the defense minister expressed his view that Churkin should represent Russia at the "16 plus one" consultative council on Bosnia.

Thus it is precisely the head of the defense — not the diplomatic ministry, as should have been the case — who has achieved foreign policy results both in Brussels and in Sochi, where agreements on a number of important, albeit not crucial, matters were signed with Ukraine. Kozyrev, however, was sidelined in both cases, just as he was during the latest Russian-American summit, when he was effectively barred from the summit's work. For this reason, the first question that cannot but logically arise is: Why can practical results be achieved only when the foreign minister is absent from the talks? From this a second question arises, namely: What can the trend toward the defense minister resolving diplomatic problems lead to, and is this a good thing?

Undoubtedly, such a situation is not to Russia's advantage. At the same time, the president cannot but take account of the fact that the current head of the Foreign Ministry is, first, unacceptable to the domestic political elite; second, has virtually lost the confidence of the West, which either perceives Kozyrev's view as his personal, not official opinion, or ignores it altogether, because over the past year or year and a half Andrey Vladimirovich had often made utterances that he subsequently refuted abroad, whispering into the ear of high-ranking foreign diplomats that they were prompted by the threat posed by the reds and the browns. This has devalued Kozyrev's statements in the eyes of Western politicians. A lack of confidence in him has largely been responsible for the current situation, in view of which he in all likelihood will no longer be able to stay on in his post as being incapable of representing Russian interests on the international scene. Grachev, for his part, has made statements that have not deviated from the Kremlin's instructions, for which reason his words currently have more solid weight.

The country's leadership long ago decided that a coordinating council on foreign policy matters should be set up under the president. According to NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's information, presently there are at least two blueprints for its structure. It is proposed that the Security Council's foreign policy commission be transformed into such an agency by subordinating it to the president or his international affairs adviser. According to the first option, the president will chair the commission himself, and his adviser will take up the post of senior secretary. The second option calls for the chairmanship to be assumed by the adviser and a commission secretariat to be set up along the lines of the CPSU Central Committee's international department.

Be that as it may, this agency will be set up to accommodate a new minister, whoever might be appointed to the post.

The range of candidates tipped by Kremlin analysts to replace Kozyrev is not as wide as it was after Yeltsin hurled critical remarks at the foreign minister.

The candidates can conventionally be divided into three groups.

The first group comprises political figures outside the Foreign Ministry. These include Vladimir Lukin, chairman of the State Duma International Affairs Committee, and Andrey Kokoshin, Grachev's first deputy, who meet the unofficial preliminary qualifications — they know sufficiently well the situation on Smolenskaya [Square — Foreign Ministry seat] and are fairly well-known both in the West and inside the country.

The second group is made up of professionals, among whom Yuliy Vorontsov, ambassador to the United States; Anatoliy Adamishin, ambassador to Britain; and Yuriy Dubinin, ambassador-at-large, are singled out — the last, on condition that he is forgiven for his support of the State of Emergency Committee. Their advanced age may turn out to be both an asset and a liability for all of them.

Dmitriy Ryurikov's candidacy is a separate case. A factor favoring him is that his appointment as foreign minister would considerably strengthen the presidential authority in foreign policy.

Naturally, it is the president who will have the last word; by the way, he might well let Kozyrev stay on. There have been few signs as yet that this might be the case, though. At any rate, preparations for a comprehensive solution to the problem of filling the foreign policy vacuum — namely, the creation of a coordinating agency and, concurrently, the replacement of the foreign minister — are already in full swing. NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA has learned from a well-informed source at the presidential staff that Security Council secretary Oleg Lobov; Sergey Karaganov, member of the Presidential Council and deputy director of the Russian Academy of Sciences' Europe Institute; and Sergey Rogov, director of the USA and Canada Institute, have already drawn up their proposals. Each of them was drawing up his analytical memo primarily with his own interests in mind. For this reason all the existing proposals are currently being summed up at the Kremlin.

NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA's source also said that everything is to be finalized after 17 December. Kozyrev is running for the Duma in Murmansk Oblast, and if he wins a Duma seat, he will be able to leave the skyscraper on Smolenskaya fairly gracefully, attributing this to his desire to become a parliamentarian. Otherwise, he will be insistently prodded to tender his resignation. So Andrey Vladimirovich is unlikely to keep his post after the elections, unless Boris Nikolayevich makes a different — more astute and wide-ranging — decision, of course.

In fact, Kozyrev can no longer talk about choosing between a minister's or a Duma deputy's career. What is more realistic is a choice between a deputy and a professor; according to trustworthy information he has already applied for a professorship at Harvard University just in case.

With Kozyrev gone, the alignment of forces within the foreign policy establishment will depend on the new minister's political clout, that is, on whether the Foreign Ministry or the coordinating agency will be calling the shots after all.

There are two options in that regard. One is to appoint an experienced minister who knows much about the Foreign Ministry, who will be able to improve coordination and the ministry's work and then to turn the helm over to a younger successor in 12 to 18 months, after which foreign policy will be started as if from a new page. Or a relatively young and energetic person may be placed in command of the Foreign Ministry right away to announce adjustments — possibly considerable — to Moscow's stances on the international scene. Yet, such a minister will find it more difficult to cooperate with the Foreign Ministry staff.

In this regard, much will evidently depend on whether or not Boris Yeltsin opts to run for a second presidential term. If he does, it would be more logical to appoint a young minister at once. If he is not going to run or he has doubts as to his chances, initially emphasis will be placed on bringing order to the ministry so as to turn it over to the next Russian president in good repair.

Kozyrev on 1996 Bosnian Conference in Moscow

LD0112193995 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1819 GMT 1 Dec 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature: by diplomatic correspondents Aleksandr Korzun, Igor Porshnev, Yevgeniy Terekhov, and others]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 1 (INTERFAX) — Russia proceeds from the assumption that one of the stages of the international conference on Bosnia will be held in Moscow at the start of 1996, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev told a group of Russian political scientists in Moscow Friday.

According to Kozyrev, the conference's first stage will be held in London on December 8. "It is clear for us that one of the "stops" will be Moscow. Our partners agree with it, too," he added.

'Unaware' Who Will Lead Paris Delegation

LD0112193595 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1819 GMT 1 Dec 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 1 (INTERFAX) — Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is unaware who will head Russia's delegation to the Paris conference on Bosnia on December 14. He made it clear at a briefing on the results of talks with two Council of Europe senior officials, Secretary-General Daniel Tarschys and Chairman of the Cabinet of Ministers Nielsen Helvig Petersen.

Kozyrev had supposed last Wednesday when the date of the Paris conference was still unclear that the leader will be known as soon as the conference date is fixed.

"You see, hardly had I left Moscow for Murmansk than the date of the Paris conference was known. Maybe it will be clear who will represent Russia in Paris when I am back from Murmansk again," he said. Kozyrev is a deputy of the State Duma from Murmansk and is running for the house again.

If doctors object, Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin will leave for Paris in place of President Boris Yeltsin, who has just checked out of hospital after a heart attack, sources in Moscow said.

'No Obstacles' Seen To Russia Joining Council of Europe

LD0112203795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1908 GMT 1 Dec 95

[By Dmitry Gorokhov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 1 (ITAR-TASS) — Russia can join the Council of Europe (CE) in February 1996, Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev and his Danish counterpart Niels Helveg Petersen told journalists today.

Kozyrev and Petersen held talks in Moscow on Russia's upcoming admission into the influential organisation uniting 38 countries of the world.

Denmark, which currently chairs the CE, considers the priority task of its chairmanship admitting Russia in the council. "In order to realise our plans Russia should participate in this work," Petersen said. In its turn, being a CE member, Russia can achieve its aim in a better way, which it puts before itself in the sphere of democracy, law and order, he said. The council, the chairman said, will extend help in carrying out democratic and legal reforms in Russia.

It followed from the statements made at the press conference, as a matter of fact, that there are no obstacles left on the path hindering Russia's admission into the CE. According to Petersen, the CE Parliamentary Assembly Committee for Political Affairs has in principle favoured support to Russia's application, taking into account the whole picture, including the situation in Chechnya, he said.

The results of Russian elections, according to CE Secretary-General Daniel Tarschys, will not influence the council's stand, although a democratic character of the elections is very important for Russia's recognition as a democratic country.

As it is expected, the PACE Committee for Political Affairs had recommended to consider Russia's application at a plenary session of the Parliamentary Assembly, which is scheduled to open in Strasbourg on January 26. The committee of ministers can take an official decision at the February session.

Summing up the Moscow talks, Petersen said that they are on their way to a happy marriage, to which his Russian counterpart added that its time to get ready wedding rings. When asked whether he will be personally present at the "marriage" in his capacity as head of the Foreign Ministry, Kozyrev replied that, of course, he will attend the ceremony.

Among questions, which the two side are yet to decide, are the amount of Russia's financial contribution to the council. Kozyrev, apparently, considers it quite normal that the "family life" after conclusion of the future alliance will begin with practical issues.

Chinese Government Delegation Arrives in Moscow

LD0212124795 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1155 GMT 2 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Oleg Velichko]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 2 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — A Chinese Government delegation led by General Liu Huaqing, vice chairman of the Central Military Commission, arrived in Moscow on 2 December on an official visit. The delegation was met at Vnukovo-2 airport by Oleg Soskovets, Russian first deputy prime minister.

The ITAR-TASS correspondent has learned from informed sources in the government that during his week's stay in Russia Liu Huaqing will be received by the country's top leadership and will also have talks with Defense Minister Pavel Grachev. It is expected that attention will mainly be focused on discussing matters relating to broadening the spheres for military cooperation. In addition, the vice chairman of the PRC's Central Military Commission will visit several enterprises and a scientific research center in Tula.

Liu Huaqing hopes that the upcoming meetings will "help to further advance the development of mutually beneficial links between our countries in the military sphere."

In recent years contacts in the military sphere have become an important part of interstate relations between Russia and China, which, in the view of both countries, are characterized by a high degree of stability and trust.

It should be noted that this is Liu Huaqing's second visit. During his first visit to Russia in the summer of 1993, he held talks with Russian Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin that resulted in accords on broadening cooperation in defense industry conversion.

Chinese Experts Comment on Visit

LD0412070895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0655 GMT 4 Dec 95

[By Marat Abulkhatin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BEIJING December 4 (ITAR-TASS) — The development and expansion of military cooperation between China and Russia, including that in the field of military technology, meets the interests of the two countries and poses no threat to third ones, Chinese experts told ITAR-TASS on Monday in comment on the current visit to Russia by a Chinese government delegation led by Colonel-General Liu Huaqing, Deputy Chairman of the Central Military Council.

To modernise the army, to purchase military hardware and armaments, and deliver arms to other countries is an established world practice, the experts emphasised, pointing out that China and Russia, which are two close neighbours, do not pursue any other goals but strengthen their defence capability. Military contacts between China and Russia have been maintained since February 1992.

Panov, Qichen Hold Talks on Bosnia

OW0412111995 Moscow Voice of Russia World Service in Mandarin 1300 GMT 25 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] China spoke highly of Russia's role in solving the Bosnia issue and maintained that Russia should play an important role in implementing the Dayton agreement. This statement was made by Panov, the Russian president's special envoy and vice Russian foreign minister, during an exclusive interview with the ITAR-TASS News Agency.

In Beijing, he held talks with Chinese Foreign Minister Qian Qichen and others on the issue of the former Yugoslavia. The talks confirmed identical or almost identical views held by Russia and China, two permanent members of the UN Security Council, regarding the Bosnia issue. Moscow and Beijing maintained that the UN Security Council should play the primary role during the crucial stage of implementing the agreement on the Bosnia issue.

Delegation To Visit Tula Defense Sites

LD0312155495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1426 GMT 3 Dec 95

[By Valeriy Rudenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TULA, December 3 (ITAR-TASS) — A Chinese military delegation headed by deputy chairman of the Central military council of China Colonel-General Liu Huaqing, who arrived here from Moscow today, will visit a number of defence enterprises of the Tula region. The Chinese representatives arrived in Russia on a seven-day visit on an invitation from the Russian government.

The Chinese visitors will spend some time in the instrument designing bureau "Tochnost" and the state scientific and production enterprise "Splav", as well as the training centre of the guard paratroopers' division. The Chinese military leaders will also familiarize themselves with the memorial estate of Yasnaya Polyana and the armoury museum.

No official aim of the Chinese delegation's visit to the Tula region was revealed, however, what draws attention is the fact that a group of Chinese specialists had visited "Splav" two weeks ago in connection with purchases of volley jet fire systems.

The Chinese delegation will return to Moscow on Tuesday.

Posuvalyuk Trying To Revive Russian Interest in M. East

LD0312200595 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1845 GMT 3 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Beirut, 3 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — Problems relating to the peaceful settlement in the Middle East and prospects for further development of bilateral Syrian-Russian relations were discussed in Damascus today in the course of a meeting between Viktor Posuvalyuk, the Russian president's special envoy to the Middle East, who is also a deputy foreign minister, and Syrian Foreign Minister Faruq al-Shar'. The Russian envoy arrived in Damascus within the framework of a tour of the Middle East. In the course of it he visited Israel and Lebanon where he had talks with leaders and officials of those countries.

According to reports from informed sources in Damascus, Posuvalyuk, during a meeting with al-Shar', familiarized the Syrian side with the results of his visit to Israel. The president's special envoy said that Russia was sticking to the view that Israel must withdraw its troops from the Golan Heights to the area where they were on 4 June 1967, that is before the beginning of the Six-Day Arab-Israeli war. Russia, Posuvalyuk said, believes it is necessary to reach a complete and comprehensive peace in the region.

The visit to the Middle East by the Russian envoy took place right before the beginning on Monday of a regular visit to that region by Dennis Ross, the U.S. State Department special Middle East coordinator, who, as stated by U.S. officials, will try to unblock the Middle Eastern peace process that became deadlocked in the Syrian-Israeli direction.

Viktor Posuvalyuk said in Beirut on Saturday, after a meeting with Lebanese President Ilyas al-Hirawi, that between Russia and the United States permanent contacts are being maintained, and actions coordinated at the top level and at the level of heads of foreign ministers and officials who are dealing with Middle East problems.

Peaceful Dialogue Favored Between Moldova, Dniester

LD0112201095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1912 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 1 (INTERFAX) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin in a letter sent to Moldovan counterpart Mircea Snegur on Friday said that Russia seeks only friendly and equal relations between the two countries.

The letter was in answer to Mircea Snegur's query regarding the adoption by the Russian State Duma on November 17 of a resolution on the Transdniestrian issue. Parliament asked the president to respond to a plea from ethnic-Russian Transdniestrian leaders for the region to be named a zone of special interest to Russia.

"We subscribe to the common belief that Russian-Moldovan relations will be accelerated if a political settlement of Transdniestrian conflict is reached," the Russian president's letter says. "We support dialogue between Chisinau and Tiraspol aimed at the coordinated definition of independence and territorial integrity of the Moldovan republic," the message reads.

In his message Yeltsin also confirmed an agreement to hold a wide-ranging summit.

"If the settlement between Chisinau and Tiraspol is reached, the Transdniestrian leaders will be invited to the summit by their mutual agreement to sign this document," Yeltsin writes.

Yeltsin requested Snegur to assist in opening a Russian consular office in Tiraspol, the Transdniestrian capital.

Deputy Minister Krylov on Relations With Slovakia

LD0212210395 Bratislava Rozhlasova Stanica Slovensko Network in Slovak 1700 GMT 2 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] There are rumors that Slovak Foreign Minister Juraj Schenk is about to visit the Russian Federation. In this context, Slovak journalists accredited in Moscow today met Sergey Krylov, Russian deputy foreign minister in charge of Central and Eastern Europe. Our permanent Moscow correspondent Maria Mikusova sent us the following excerpts from an almost one-hour-long press briefing. [passage omitted]

[Mikusova] On the Slovak political scene you can hear on the one hand, views that Russia is not interested enough in Slovakia and on the other, views that Moscow is attempting to tie Slovakia to itself again.

[Begin recording] [Krylov, in Russian with superimposed Slovak translation] Moscow has not made any attempts to tie or subjugate Bratislava. We have never attempted anything of that kind. Our relations with West European countries are developing and, as far as I am aware, quite successfully. It is not by chance that one of our strategic aims is a rapprochement with the European Union. However, the two trends are not mutually exclusive. Why just look in one direction? Why just forget that for many years our countries used to cooperate in the spheres of economy, culture, and science. Why should we abandon these relations? [passage omitted] This is a truly positive process. A one-sided orientation is always disadvantageous, if only simply because it makes use only of half of the chances. [passage omitted]

[Correspondent] It is no secret that at present your Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev is not exactly secure in his post. Many speak about his departure. Is there any possibility that Russian foreign policy will change after the elections?

[Krylov] State foreign policy is not determined by the composition of a government, it is determined by state national interests that stay unchanged, regardless of who takes the post of a prime minister or a foreign minister. State foreign policy keeps its continuity. What can change is our tactical emphasis, but not our overall trend. This is why I do not see any reason to discuss a change in Russian foreign policy, be it before the parliamentary elections or after. [end recording]

Guards Will Continue To Defend Tajik-Afghan Border

LD0312172195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1418 GMT 3 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 3 (INTERFAX) — Russian Deputy Foreign Minister Albert Chernyshev told INTERFAX that Russian border guards would continue to defend the Tajik-Afghan border.

"Statements proposing that our border guards should leave Tajikistan are absolutely unproductive," Chernyshev said.

Chernyshev repeated that Russia and Tajikistan had concluded a bilateral agreement on joint defense of the Tajik-Afghan border and that the CIS had made a corresponding decision.

"We should not forget that the border is a crossing point for illegal arms and drugs trafficking," he said.

"Those against the presence of Russian border guards in Tajikistan premeditatedly omit the fact that 80 percent of these troops are manned with Tajik young people. Statements saying that Tajikistan, whose border guard troops are just being formed, does not participate in defense of its border with Afghanistan are groundless," Chernyshev said.

Political Issues

Reportage on Nominations for Presidential Elections

Filatov Seen as Yeltsin's Key Figure

LD0312195095 Moscow NTV in Russian
1800 GMT 3 Dec 95

[Video report by ITAR-TASS observer Tamara Zamyatina; from the "Itogi" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Zamyatina] Last Thursday Boris Yeltsin was put forward at a meeting of the Moscow public as a candidate for a second presidential term. Incidentally, the Kremlin does not seem to attach any particular significance to that initiative by the Moscow public, as can be seen from an interview that Sergey Filatov, head of the presidential administration, gave to "Itogi" after a meeting with Boris Yeltsin in Barvikha sanatorium.

[Begin recording] [Zamyatina] Did Boris Nikolayevich show any interest in that campaign for the election of the future president?

[Filatov] No, there was not any talk of that, on the whole, because we think that the main thing now is the campaign for the elections to the State Duma. Boris Nikolayevich has said that frequently. The date for the presidential elections was set in order to quash any speculation about the president, to quell any accusations, to alleviate any suspicions that the elections will not take place, to clear the atmosphere, as it were. [end recording]

[Zamyatina] Sergey Filatov thinks that until the results of the parliamentary elections are summed up, a presidential election campaign should not be launched. Moreover, he said that the document on reforming the presidential administration will be ready two or three weeks after the State Duma elections.

It may be thought that this is no coincidence. When, after the election of the new State Duma, Boris Yeltsin announces whether he is running for president, his own electoral headquarters will already be formed. The reorganized presidential administration is to be those headquarters. In actual fact, it will resemble pre-election headquarters in which every presidential aide will be in charge of a specific line of activity of the head of state and thereby strengthen Boris Yeltsin's chances for victory.

Georgiy Satarov will deal with strengthening the president's position in internal policy, Mikhail Krasnov, assistant on legal matters, will be in charge of policy for guaranteeing citizens' constitutional rights, Dmitriy Ryurikov will be in charge of bringing foreign policy into line with the demands of the time.

It is an irony of fate that Sergey Filatov is charged with drawing up a plan for reforming the presidential administration, but he will not be the one to head the whole structure — Viktor Ilyushin, first presidential aide, will. In connection with this, many mass media claim that the days of Sergey Filatov as head of the president's administration are numbered, and that all that will be left of his present powers are auxiliary and technical functions.

However, it might be thought that Boris Yeltsin understands better than anyone else that Sergey Filatov is more able than anyone else to win additional votes for the president in the presidential elections — he travels a lot about the country and knows how to talk to governors, teachers, and the creative intelligentsia. It will be hard for Boris Yeltsin's election headquarters without such a man.

Gorbachev Plans To Contest Presidency

LD0312110295 Moscow INTERFAX in English
0947 GMT 3 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 2 (INTERFAX) — The former USSR President Mikhail Gorbachev has proclaimed, for the first time ever, his intention to contest the presidency next June.

"Meetings with people in various areas prompted me to take a positive decision concerning my participation in the presidential race," he told the Novaya Yezhednevnaya Gazeta (New Daily).

As Gorbachev said, the announcement of the time when the presidential elections will be held — June 16 — before the parliamentary elections induced the possible contenders of the present president, Boris Yeltsin, to make their start. But this is a false start, Gorbachev said. This will make it possible to reveal weak points, analyse the interim results (of parliamentary elections), understand what everyone is worth, what chances Yeltsin himself has, and, if such chances are not great, decide whether it is possible to avoid elections.

At December's parliamentary elections Gorbachev will vote for centrist parties, such as Svyatoslav Fedorov's Government by the People Party, Stanislav Govorukhin's Democratic Party, Vladimir Scherbakov's United Industrial Party, Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's YaBLoko bloc and the bloc of Social Democrats led by Vasiliy Lipitskiy and Gavriil Popov. As the time of elections draws nearer, he will decide which of these he will vote for, Gorbachev said.

Yavlinskiy To Limit Presidential Powers

LD0112185595 Moscow NTV in Russian 1600 GMT 1 Dec 95

[From the "Segodnya" program]

[FBIS Translated Text] Grigoriy Yavlinskiy is convinced he will win in the presidential elections in 1996. He declared as much in a live appearance on Vladivostok State Radio and Television Company. The Yabloko leader is currently making an election campaign trip through Maritime Territory.

Yavlinskiy said that if he comes to power, he will first and foremost improve Russia's Constitution by limiting the president's powers and getting opportunities for forming a responsible and independent government with clearly delimited rights and possibilities. Yavlinskiy stated that he will officially put forward his candidacy for the post of president after the parliamentary elections, but he said the Yabloko staff are already carrying out the necessary work; among other things, more 800,000 signatures have been collected in support of nominating the Yabloko leader for president. [video shows Grigoriy Yavlinskiy being interviewed in a studio, getting off a train, being interviewed by journalists, harangued by an elderly lady on the platform, addressing a meeting]

Leftist Bloc Nominates Romanov

LD0112180495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1349 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 1 (INTERFAX) — The Assembly of National Democratic and Patriotic Forces of Russia held in Moscow Friday nominated Hero of Socialist Labor Pyotr Romanov, director general of the Yenisei chemical works, as a candidate for the Russian presidency.

Shmidt Dzoblayev, the assembly's secretary general, said that its regional and interregional organizations believe that the December 17 parliamentary elections will not change the situation in the country, and so will save their energy for the June 16, 1996 presidential elections. The assembly delegates, he said, view Romanov as a man capable of uniting the progressive forces of Russia and all its peoples for a revival of the country.

Romanov himself said that the most important issue is to get Russia working again. His program includes creating a favorable environment for all kinds of ownership, state property being given priority, centralized control of basic industries, prevention of unemployment, change of the taxation policy and elimination of non-payment. He also called for amending the constitution by reintroducing the provisions for the right to work and rest, free housing, education and health service. Romanov wants to set up a truly federative state which would reintegrate all former USSR republics, route out crime by depriving it of its "economic roots" and revive spirituality as a link between the economy and politics.

Romanov is sure that he will be supported by "all progressive forces of the country, above all the communists, agrarians and patriots advocating a strong state. In response to an INTERFAX question asking what he would do if Aleksandr Rutskoy (Derzhava), Nikolay Ryzhkov (Power to the People), Gennadiy Zyuganov (the Communist Party) or Mikhail Lapshin (the Agrarian Party), whose platform is similar to his, also run for presidency, Romanov expressed the hope that he will win the confidence of the people because otherwise there is no point in his running for presidency.

Dzoblayev said that appropriate documents on Romanov will be submitted to the Central Election Commission next week.

Boris Fedorov To Decide After Elections

LD0312114095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0951 GMT 3 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 2 (INTERFAX) — The leader of the Forward Russia movement, Boris Fedorov, said his nomination for Russia's presidency will be decided on by the movement leadership once the results of the Duma elections are known.

"I do not take seriously those politicians who have announced their intention to do so," Fedorov told INTERFAX Saturday, referring to State Duma deputy Stanislav Govorukhin and Federation Council deputy Petr Romanov.

Grigoriy Yavlinskiy's Yabloko movement has so far left unanswered Forward Russia's proposal to bloc at the parliamentary elections, Fedorov said. At the same time, he was confident that the two democratic-oriented blocs will cooperate in the future parliament.

Speaking on the December 17 elections, Fedorov stated that "there will be no crushing communist victory." In addition, the rating of Liberal Democrat Vladimir Zhirinovskiy will drop "by at least two times" against the December 1993 results. At the same time, Viktor Chernomyrdin's Our Home Is Russia will win a considerable majority, he said.

Fedorov supposed that the new Duma will not be worse than the present one. "It will widely represent sensible conservative, democratic and centrist forces," he added, saying the new Duma could form a coalition government.

Fedorov supported Russia's admission to NATO. "This step will help balance the North Atlantic alliance from the inside. Until then, Russian troops should not be under NATO command, though I support our involvement in the peacekeeping operation in Bosnia," he told a forum of his movement in Moscow Saturday.

Abdulatipov Calls Nomination 'Inaccurate'

LD0112131095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1209 GMT 1 Dec 95

[By Tamara Ivanova]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 1 (ITAR-TASS) — Deputy Chairman of the Federation Council Ramazan Abdulatipov has described as inaccurate the information about his nomination as candidate to the post of president. "I have not given my consent yet to run for presidency," he said today at a press conference, held at the Central House of Journalists.

He said at the same time that he had received a proposal about it from the Creative Endeavour for the Sake of Life movement (the Senezh Forum). Abdulatipov fully agrees with President Yeltsin, who maintains that presidential candidates should be nominated after the parliamentary elections. "I am not a political adventurist," he said. A conference of the Senezh Forum is planned to be held after the elections, where all matters, connected with the nomination of Abdulatipov, will be finally decided.

Abdulatipov does not rule out a possibility of four or five large political blocs taking part in the presidential elections, but said he was not going to be at the head of any of them.

St. Petersburg Mayor Sobchak Not To Run

LD0312173295 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1600 GMT 3 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ST. PETERSBURG, Dec 3 (INTERFAX) — St. Petersburg Mayor Anatoliy Sobchak will not run for presidency, "at least not in 1996." He told INTERFAX that this was his final decision made as a result of "serious political analysis."

Even though he is regarded as a strong competitor of Moscow-based political figures, Sobchak, who described himself as a realist, does not believe that his chances are good.

Sobchak explained that as long as most components of society are old the country has to be run by people such as Viktor Chernomyrdin who have inside knowledge of the structures of the past.

Sobchak regretted that the political TV shows demonstrated poor taste and stale jokes rather than a sound analysis of the problems the country faces.

The moral, cultural and professional standards of most candidates to parliament is very low, he said.

Sobchak has shown no obvious preference for any party in the electoral race. He recalled that he had attended the electoral campaign of Our Home Is Russia and social democrats and is prepared to attend events called by Grigoriy Yavlinskiy, Yegor Gaydar, Boris Fedorov and Christian Democrats but never CHECHNYA-MAGOMADOV [as received].

Rossel Not To Run; Supports Yeltsin

LD0212154895 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian
0900 GMT 2 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] "Recently people have begun to talk to me seriously about putting forward my candidacy in the presidential elections," Sverdlvosk regional governor Eduard Rossel said live on air on the Ekho Moskvy radio station.

He said, "Several people at quite a high level are ready to support my candidacy for president very seriously in the elections. However, I promised the people who elected me that I would not accept any Moscow proposals and would remain governor of Sverdlovsk region."

"Boris Yeltsin must remain president in Russia for another four years to bring the reforms to a peaceful end and I will support him in the presidential elections," Eduard Rossel emphasized.

Yeltsin Continues Recuperation in Sanatorium

LD0412101995 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
0929 GMT 4 Dec 95

[By Andrey Shtorkh]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 4 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin is continuing his recuperation course of treatment at the Barvikha sanatorium near Moscow, ITAR-TASS was told today by Presidential Press Secretary Sergey Medvedev. He said that Yeltsin was going through the prescribed medical procedures and having strolls in the fresh air.

Today morning, as usual, the president worked on some documents and then studied reports on current matters. He was visited today by his First Aide Viktor Ilyushin, Medvedev stated.

Grachev Hopes Yeltsin Returns to Kremlin 'Soon'

LD0112201695 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1912 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TEL AVIV, Dec 1 (INTERFAX) — President Boris Yeltsin has accomplished his course of treatment, Defense Minister Pavel Grachev told a ceremony of signing bilateral documents in Tel Aviv Friday.

According to Grachev, the Russian president will soon be back in his Kremlin office.

Yeltsin Issues Edict on Chechen Armed Formations

LD0112202795 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1912 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 1 (INTERFAX) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin has supported the proposal of the Chechen parliament and government that a special commission be set up to consider requests from rebel fighters who voluntarily handed in weapons.

Yeltsin issued a corresponding decree on legal guarantees to participants in Chechen illegal armed formations who voluntarily handed in weapons. The decree was circulated by the presidential press service in Moscow today.

The future special commission will consider requests from members of Chechen illegal armed formations who voluntarily handed in weapons and now ask not to bring charges against them. The commission will make decisions together with Chechen law enforcement organs.

Chechen Prime Minister Doku Zavgayev will lead the commission.

Yeltsin instructed Zavgayev to form the commission and include in it representatives of the Russian Interior Ministry and the Federal Security Service. The appointment of these departments' representatives to the commission has to be coordinated with their leadership.

The decree also applies to those persons living on Chechen territory who are not members of illegal armed formations but illegally possess arms.

The decree will not concern those who have committed serious crimes and those against whom criminal charges have been brought.

Yeltsin instructed his envoy in Chechnya, Oleg Lobov, to oversee the decree's implementation.

Yeltsin Signs Edict on Preferential Tariffs

LD3011124695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English
1143 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, November 30 (ITAR-TASS) — Russian President Boris Yeltsin signed on Thursday a decree "On preferential tariffs."

The President agreed to a complex of measures on which the Russian government decided to compensate for losses during the abrogation of preferential tariffs for foreign trade operations.

The decree prohibits "the passing of decisions by federal bodies of executive authorities to extend the duration of preferential tariffs and pay additional compensations."

Chernomyrdin Talks With Provincial Journalists

MM0412144695 Moscow ROSSIYSKAYA GAZETA
in Russian 2 Dec 95 p 7

[Report by Aleksandr Andreyev: "Wonderful Sea, Difficult Question — Viktor Chernomyrdin Agreed on Meeting Again With Provincial Journalists"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Those for whom Baykal is part of the area where they grew up, and not only them, are concerned about its future. Therefore representatives of the media from Buryatia and Irkutsk Oblast talked emotionally to the prime minister about the problems of the "wonderful sea." The numerous decisions on changing the area of specialization of the Baykalsk Pulp and Paper Combine are not being implemented and the same goes for the lake conservation program adopted last November.

"It is not enough just to want to transfer the combine in Baykalsk to a new area of production," Viktor Chernomyrdin said. "Considerable funds are needed. Difficult though it may be, the funds have to be allocated and the reorganization has to be carried out."

The locals are proposing their own solutions to the problem. For instance, people in Buryatia had the idea of creating a most-favored ecological status zone in Baykal's catchment area.

"You cannot split everything connected with Baykal up into little pieces," Viktor Stepanovich was at pains to stress. "The lake's future must be tackled by a comprehensive approach, taking all proposals into account."

The topic of nonpayments was raised at the meeting with the provincial journalists. One question was the serious situation in the Kuzbass. In an effort to find out what is going on, the media representatives said to the prime minister that there is the suspicion that Kuzbass coal is being sacrificed to the World Bank, which is trying to close our mines and limit home coal production.

"The World Bank is not dictating to us in any way," V. Chernomyrdin said, firmly denying the suspicions. "The Kuzbass is the pearl of our coal industry and has high-class coal. The volume of local coal exports is expected to reach the 1991 level this year. We have devised an energy strategy and the Russian, including Kuzbass, coal industry is developing in accordance with it.

Nonetheless, the government head continued, the future of worked- out and unprofitable mines has nonetheless to be decided — not only in the Kuzbass, but in all the coalfields.

The government head noticeably perked up when reporters who had come to Moscow from the North began to put their questions. Talk turned to the development of gas resources in the Yamalo-Nenetsk Autonomous Okrug and prospects for the development of gas production — gas workers will go further by the year 2000, to Yamal and the Kara Sea. But is the state always conscious of the northerners' needs? You have nonpayments and other things. For instance, Salekhard is without hot water.

"As a joint-stock company 'Gazprom' can now make independent decisions," Viktor Stepanovich explained. "The problems with paying the gas workers are understandable — 'Gazprom' itself is owed money by many consumers. But the leaders of 'Nadymgazprom' ought to be ashamed of themselves — the capital of the okrug that is the world's biggest producer of gas left without hot water! The leaders have so many rights today — they only have to use them."

Nonetheless the state is concerned about the northerners and is supporting the social sphere — housing is being built for pensioners in more favorable areas of Russia.

Another question was to what extent is "Russia Is Our Home" [NDR], led by Viktor Chernomyrdin, "ruling" the country?

"The NDR is not the 'party of power,'" the premier reminded us once again . "On the one hand, the agrarians, the PRES, and 'Russia's Choice' are represented in the government. On the other hand, as in any normal state, we want the government to have powerful support in parliament. We must not devote all our efforts to fights and feuds; it is time to do business."

Chernomyrdin Holds Phone-In at Newspaper Office

LD0212130295 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 2 Dec 95

[Report on phone-in with Russian Federation Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin at KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA office in Moscow on 2 December; Chernomyrdin remarks recorded; from the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin today answered phone-in questions from the public.

[Correspondent S. Milyanchikov] The editorial office of the KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA newspaper has had numerous calls on four telephones since this morning. Everyone who wanted to ask questions and managed to get through could directly speak to the prime minister who was on the phone for two hours.

[Chernomyrdin] They were normal questions. I did not have a feeling that I was asked any malicious or humiliating questions. No. There were no such questions. Of course, people are most of all concerned about the current situation and about the processes which are under way in the country.

[Correspondent] There were funny questions, too. For instance, about his attitude toward photo models.

[Chernomyrdin] It was quite an unexpected question. I do not see them. I have never seen them [laughs].

[Correspondent] However, most questions were more serious, first of all they dealt with social problems.

[Chernomyrdin] First of all, our difficulties affect people. I am convinced that people are not to blame. We politicians should tackle problems quicker. We should not vacillate, should not be all over the place but we should do our best to make laws and enforceable enactments workable as soon as possible. We should invigorate production and the conversion process. Plants should work. We need competitive products.

[Correspondent] The Chechen issue was not left out either.

[Chernomyrdin] For the sake of ordinary Chechens, the issue should be tackled first of all by talks and not by war. We are asked to stop the war by all means. We are asked to do everything possible to prevent escalation of hostilities in Chechnya again. We shall do it.

[Correspondent] The two hours allocated for the phone-in passed quickly. Not everyone managed to get through, and not all questions were answered. One can advise those who could not get through, to read next Wednesday's edition of KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA. Maybe there will be an answer to your questions as well. [video shows Chernomyrdin answering calls in a booth, then surrounded by journalists outside the booth]

Chernomyrdin Appoints New Health Minister

LD0112141895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1142 GMT 1 Dec 95

[By Mikhail Karlov]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, December 1 (ITAR-TASS) — Professor Aleksandr Tsaregorodtsev, 49, was appointed Russian acting health minister by Premier Viktor Chernomyrdin.

Tsaregorodtsev who told Tass about his new promotion on Friday, added that a new health minister would be, possibly, appointed after a new State Duma is elected on December 17.

Tsaregorodtsev had been deputy health minister since 1994, and the first deputy health minister since 1995.

Tsaregorodtsev, doctor of medical sciences, professor, is a prominent pediatrist. After graduating from Kazan medical institute he combined medical practice with teaching. In 1986-1989 he headed the Tatarstan Health Ministry. After that he was deputy health minister of the USSR.

President Boris Yeltsin dismissed Health Minister Eduard Nechayev this week "in connection with a transfer to another job".

The "IZVESTIYA" newspaper said the dismisaal was caused by a poor performance of the minister.

Kozyrev Ready To Continue With Yeltsin's Support

LD0112161495 Moscow NTV in Russian 2120 GMT 30 Nov 95

[Interview with Russian Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev by announcer Sergey Dorenko; from the "Versions" program — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] The relations between the Foreign Ministry and other centers of foreign policy in Russia have gone so far that practically no attention is paid to the Foreign Ministry. The Foreign Ministry has become a purely auxiliary instrument. Moreover, there are tens of possibilities for getting by without it at all. The foreign policy center of Russia is, first of all, the Kremlin, and specifically, advisers and aides of the president, Dmitriy Ryurikov and Yuriy Baturin, in the first instance. The Foreign Ministry does not play any role at all in economic ties, and this has long been a tradition. Matters in this sphere are decided by Aleksandr Livshits in the Kremlin and a whole host of interest groups in the White House.

Finally, the Defense Ministry is a major rival to the Foreign Ministry. It ignores the Foreign Ministry with the complete accord and patronage of the Kremlin. Defense Minister Pavel Grachev beat Foreign Minister Andrey Kozyrev in early when Grachev took up arms against Kozyrev and NATO at the same time. Since then he has created a new alliance with China, made friends with and made things up with NATO at his own discretion, and made it clear to the West that he, Grachev, was the one who took the decisions and reported to the president. Even before the talks on Bosnia, in the opinion of informed sources, the Kremlin communicated directly with Kozyrev's First Deputy Igor Ivanov, practically, sidelining the head of the Foreign Ministry himself.

[addressing Russian Foreign Minister Kozyrev seated behind him] A whole host of Foreign Ministries have appeared in our country — the Defense Ministry is turning into a sort of Foreign Ministry. You are continuing your activities for the State Duma elections which already makes one suspect that just under a month is left. The president says one thing and then another — "let him go in the meantime, heaven knows!" Does that weaken you, yes or no?

[Kozyrev] Well, you know, our international position has been greatly weakened in view of the fact that we, unfortunately, do not have a joint strategy of action. I want to stress that. We do have a political strategy. We have put forward proposals and they have been approved by the president. And I can tell you that even in hospital the president is following all of that and is taking decisions. He is the only one taking the decisions. But the implementation of these decisions is a very big question for our state and foreign policy.

[Dorenko, to camera] Minister Kozyrev is sending letters at present to all departments urging that use should be made of Russia's role in the former Yugoslavia for economic expansion. Otherwise, as usual, it will turn out that peace has been won for the expansion of Germany and the United States. Moreover, Kozyrev practically accuses the Kremlin of his own weakness. [addressing Kozyrev] The president said that you coordinate badly.

[Kozyrev] I think that the president was right when he said the second time, too, that coordination depends upon the president. That is his role. The Foreign Ministry and other departments can coordinate and we are coordinating, but we do not command. The difference between coordinating and ruling is that the Foreign Ministry is able to coordinate. Yes, we coordinated the activity of departments, but the main issue is to manage them, command them, and ensure that these commands are carried out. I will give you concrete examples. We adopted a decision, let's say on the Transcaucasus. We have taken many decisions about how things should be done, for instance, in the Abkhaz-Georgian conflict. But unfortunately, we are holding the talks, we are coordinating them, but the implementation of these decisions still leaves a lot to be desired. So what is at issue here is commanding, using power, whether these coordinated proposals, these coordinated plans are being implemented. That is not a question for the Foreign Ministry.

[Dorenko] It seems somebody higher than you is not coping with his responsibilities.

[Kozyrev] No, that's not it. What is at issue is strengthening the command and coordinating functions of the president. I have said already and I will say once again that I am ready to work to implement that policy, but I cannot take the place of governing bodies, I am not the president, and I do not intend to try and play this role. I am not the government and I do not intend to play this role, when there are some departments who independently sign agreements, independently even begin to implement them and then it turns out that. The Americans sometimes point this out to us, and this is particularly wounding, but this is not what the whole thing is about. The fact of the matter is that it turns out that neither the prime minister nor his deputy, for instance, knew about it. So it's a big problem. What talk can there be of coordinating foreign policy? How am I supposed to know what they are doing if they do not consult, never mind with the Foreign Ministry, let alone with the prime minister, before signing agreements? That agreement is not legal at all because according to international law one must have the power to sign something to start with. And it wouldn't be a bad idea either to have the power to say something before you actually say it; for instance, to make threats to NATO. Are these only threats? I don't know. I am not responsible for that. The Foreign Ministry cannot do that. Therefore, I want to say once again that I am ready to work, with the president's support, and when I visited him the last time in hospital he officially expressed his support for me. I am ready to try to coordinate activity as long as I have that support, but it is not the task of the Foreign Ministry to manage foreign policy and supervise the implementation by departments of the course that has been drawn up. That is the task of those who rule.

General Lebed Writes on Nation's Problems

AU0112164795 Frankfurt/Main FRANKFURTER ALLGEMEINE in German 30 Nov 95 p 14

[Article by Russian General Aleksandr Lebed: "The Patriots Must Rule in Russia"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The 21st century will see a new division of the world whether we want it or not. The main factor therein will be Russia, a giant, inadequately populated, and very rich country that has not been able to use even one-tenth of its potential over the past centuries.

If NATO proceeds toward an eastward expansion and stations its troops close to our borders, Russia will be obliged to take countermeasures; it will have to form a new military alliance, abandon previous agreements, and once again resort to the nuclear deterrent. In the southeast, the Islamic world, whose front line runs through Chechnya, is gaining strength. According to forecasts, China, a giant empire, will have a population of 1.6 billion in 15 to 20 years. They will not have enough room on their territory. This represents a possible conflict.

In this connection, it is necessary to work out a state security program and guarantee its implementation by means of adequate funds. The Army's combat and professional capability must be increased. People must be made to believe once again that they are serving the fatherland and not providence. The formation of divisions, the process of troop deployments, and the structures for uniting the authorities of the Interior and Defense Ministries must be perfected.

Another major aspect of national security is the environment. One-third of our territory been declared an environmental disaster area. Nature is being ruthlessly destroyed, and no is doing anything about it. According to last year's statistics, there were almost 1 million more deaths than births, and only one-third of new-born children are fully healthy.

The most important foodstuffs must stem from our own production. In this way we have a guarantee that despite all the quirks of fate, the state will survive. I permit myself to quote two figures. During the Great Patriotic War, the GNP fell by 34 percent during the most difficult years 1941 and 1942, and between 1992 and 1995 it also fell by 43 percent. But in the first instance we had war, the most destructive war of all time. Therefore one can conclude that another war, an economic war, is being waged against us skillfully and professionally. We have sold a major part of our provisions market.

One sees that in many regions, we are receiving assistance in rebuilding chemical and steel plants, so that these health-damaging enterprises that cause tuberculosis, silicosis, and other diseases remain with us, and we are merely supplying the "charitable countries" with ecologically pure products. Most of the shares of many enterprises have gone to foreign companies, which today consider themselves lords over our territory. Who knows in which direction these gentlemen will continue?

Economically, there are several effective ways to solve our problems. One example is the Estonian border. What kind of a border is this if it allows us to be plundered so shamelessly? Estonia has become the fourth biggest exporter of nonferrous metals in the world. However, the country itself possesses only limited coal resources. This raises the question: Whose nonferrous metal is Estonia selling? The answer: Russian metal. The borders must be reinforced as quickly as possible. Another possible way of overcoming the economic difficulties is this: Some $3 billion to $5 billion of Russian money is deposited in Swiss banks It was deposited there in 1917 and immediately after the revolution. I do not see why we should only settle the Soviet Union's debts and not inherit the fortune that has been amassed during our 1,000-year history.

The struggle against crime and corruption is a major problem. The law enforcement authorities are in a miserable condition right now. Criminals have fast cars, machine guns, and satellite links. They are equipped with bullet-proof vests, bugging devices, and other modern technical equipment. And whom are they facing? A militia lieutenant armed with a Makarov pistol and driving a car with 10 liters of gasoline in the tank. One cannot speak of equal chances here. We must increase the status of the law enforcement bodies, provide them with better technical equipment, and improve their motivation. Every member of the law enforcement bodies must know that should he be hit by a bullet, his family will not have to starve. The main principle must be that is is not the degree of punishment that counts, but its inevitability.

One must also examine the moral-psychological aspects of the economic reform. A man can only endure extreme situations for a certain amount of time. But when he sees that his remaining life will be nothing but "extreme," he cannot possibly live a calm and fruitful life. In such a case, aggression and tension arise. He loses faith in everything. There is also an important aspect of national security that must be examined. The current practice involves attaining smaller positive results.

The State Duma elections on 17 December are not an end in themselves. We want a new political force, the Russian people to become active, a force that one cannot ignore. Then one will understand which path must be taken. We need a government that thinks in national terms. The patriots must rule in Russia.

Lebed Criticizes Government, Yeltsin

AU0312190295 Hamburg DIE WOCHE in German 1 Dec 95 p 25

[Interview with Russian General Aleksandr Lebed by Andrzej Rybak; place and date not given: "The Difference? I Do Not Drink!"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Rybak] Do you miss the Army?

[Lebed] I wore the uniform for 26 years; the Army was my element, I felt like a fish in water there. Politics is like a game without rules for me.

[Rybak] You prefer a game on the basis of rules?

[Lebed] Yes.

[Rybak] Your own ones?

[Lebed] No. We all must set down the rules. In Russia there are 132 peoples. We can either beat each other up and destroy what dozens of generations have built, or we can all together agree on norms of coexistence. It is like in a kommunalka, a common apartment, in which every family has one room. At some time or other it is everybody's turn to clean the stove or the toilet.

[Rybak] Do you dream of the return of the Russian Empire?

[Lebed] Nonsense. Russia should become a strong, civilized country, within the current borders.

[Rybak] As an answer to NATO's expansion to the east, there are reportedly plans in Moscow to aim Russian nuclear weapons at Poland and the Czech Republic and to invade the Baltic states.

[Lebed] If NATO expands to the east, then the laws of physics will come into force: Action will be followed by reaction. I advise NATO not to bite off more than it can chew. The NATO bloc will be countered by a new bloc. We will declare all formerly concluded treaties null and void and return to the tactic of nuclear deterrence. Our nuclear shield is still one of the best; it is the only thing for which the West still respects us.

[Rybak] The former Soviet republics do not particularly seem to support the idea of a bloc to counter NATO....

[Lebed] I do not want to claim that Ukraine would join in immediately, but Belarus would certainly do that. And also other countries. We just would have to whistle.

[Rybak] The arms race ruined the Soviet economy in the past. Could Russia bear something like that again today?

[Lebed] We have so many weapons that one could destroy mankind 99 times over. This is enough.

[Rybak] You said that all means are justified to protect the Russians in the "near abroad." Does this also mean war?

[Lebed] Why such a strong measure all at once? After all, there are civilized methods. For instance, we could turn off the gas pipeline and stop deliveries of coal. In most of these so-called "sovereign countries" this would lead to a collapse of energy supply. Russia must nowadays state its priorities loudly and clearly, regardless of whether or not the West likes this. The area of the former Soviet Union, where about 25 million Russians live, is our sphere of interest. Basta!

[Rybak] You sound like Zhirinovskiy.

[Lebed] What is wrong about the Russian idea? We want to be the master in our own country; we prefer our interests over foreign ones. Russia should be ruled by Russian patriots, Germany by German ones. We do not want to wage war with anybody. And I have nothing in common with Zhirinovskiy. He is a creation of the CPSU. He has been used to strengthen Yeltsin also in the West — following the motto: If you do not support Yeltsin, Zhirinovskiy will come.

[Rybak] You have no longing whatsoever for the old USSR?

[Lebed] Anyone who does not mourn for the Soviet Union does not have a heart. However, today a union in the old form is no longer possible. Several absolute principalities have replaced the republics. The chieftains there do not want to share power. Perhaps we could establish a confederation and integrate the economy. This is commanded by common sense alone.

[Rybak] Some kind of alliance of Slav peoples, as Solzhenitsyn envisages?

[Lebed] Why not? After all, we all come from one root. We have much in common: one belief, one language. We can communicate without an interpreter. Every country could remain sovereign in such an alliance, with its own coat of arms and its own national anthem.

[Rybak] Posters of you have turned up with the headline: I will teach you to love your homeland....

[Lebed] This is an evil forgery. I do not want to teach anybody, I am not a messiah.

[Rybak] You are cultivating the image of a somber politician. Among your friends you are reportedly quite different....

[Lebed] Image? Nonsense. My parents always told me: Stay as you are. Since I was born with such a face, why should I now paste a smile between my ears? I will not grin like an idiot just because it would allegedly be more popular.

[Rybak] Would you call yourself a follower of democracy?

[Lebed] What is democracy? A system that is based on law. The law determines the framework within which everybody can move about. I will not live to see democracy in Russia; I am convinced of that. Because democracy requires much time and much effort. One cannot go to bed with totalitarianism in the evening and wake up with democracy in the morning.

[Rybak] Does this mean that Russia currently rather needs a strong hand?

[Lebed] Russia is crying out for an absolute ruler, who rules it benevolently. Today the country needs a dictatorship of law, a leader who strengthens Russia's condition as a state.

[Rybak] As in the Army?

[Lebed] The military has its own laws. One cannot command a state like a barracks.

[Rybak] Today the state bureaucracy has the say. Should this remain so?

[Lebed] Russia currently has more civil servants than the old Soviet Union; about 20 percent of the working people are working for the government. We must, above all, eradicate corruption. A corrupt civil servant is a state criminal, because he ruins the state's reputation. He should be punished with all severity. However, nowadays no one is punished. In Russia everything is permitted, nothing is prohibited.

[Rybak] You are increasingly becoming Boris Yeltsin's opponent. Is this your election strategy?

[Lebed] We, the Congress of Russian Communities, continue the cause that Yeltsin himself betrayed in 1991. The president has used up his potential; he is no longer able to correct his mistakes. Otherwise there is only one difference between us: I do not drink.

[Rybak] The Russians even trust you to defeat the rampant crime....

[Lebed] Nowadays policemen are just decoration. The professionals who used to work there have all been driven out. Corruption is rampant. We must clean out the executive forces and equip them properly. Today the criminals have fast cars, automatic guns, bulletproof vests, and satellite telephones. They are opposed by militia officials who have not gotten their salary for three months and are driving Ladas that are falling apart.

[Rybak] How do you want to finance new equipment?

[Lebed] If we force Gazprom, the natural gas corporation, to pay taxes, we have solved the problem. This monster, which was established by three generations of workers, considers the country's resources as its property. And the prime minister is protecting its interests. Gazprom is cheating the state; Viktor Chernomyrdin is abusing his office for his own benefit.

[Rybak] Do you want to rescind privatization?

[Lebed] It must be fair. We are too far away from the shore to swim back. Today there are 7 percent of super-rich people, and 80 percent live below the subsistence level. The minimum wage in Russia is 57,000 rubles; the subsistence minimum, however, is 250,000. The result: In 1994 we had 1 million more dead than newborn infants.

[Rybak] Many people also died in Chechnya. What for?

[Lebed] Chechnya is our national disgrace. We must withdraw the Army immediately and evacuate the Russian minority. The money that is leaking away there could better be distributed to this minority.

[Rybak] Far more than 100 officers are running for the Duma in December. Do you think this is good?

[Lebed] The Army should keep out of politics. Just imagine: In a tank the commander is a communist, the gunner a democrat, and the engineer an agrarian. This does not work.

[Rybak] Why did you yourself take this step then?

[Lebed] I realized that changes from below are not possible. One must change the system. Therefore, I took off the uniform and put on a jacket.

[Rybak] Do you have enemies?

[Lebed] Many. Many enemies adorn a man.

Federation Council's Romanov Opposes All Referendums

LD0312162295 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1418 GMT 3 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 3 (INTERFAX) — Member of the Federation Council Petr Romanov, who was recently advanced as a candidate to the post of president, told INTERFAX Sunday that he opposed "all proposals on referendums on all issues."

Romanov is a leader of the Communist Party of the Russian Federation and was advanced as a presidential candidate by the Assembly of People's Patriotic Forces of Russia.

He said that the idea of holding a referendum on assessing the government's activity on the basis of the population's living standards, proposed by leader of the Congress of Russian Communities Yuriy Skokov, "is nothing but beautiful words." "To implement this idea a union of all left-wing forces is needed," he said.

Romanov also intends to criticize the Congress of Russian Communities [CRC] for their "negative attitude to potential allies." As reported earlier, Romanov headed the CRC's organizing committee for a long time.

Romanov also criticized Federation Council Chairman Vladimir Shumeyko's plans to establish a new movement, Russian Reforms — New Deal, and hold his own referendum on the day of presidential elections. "Shumeyko's initiatives are unserious," said Romanov.

He said that the Russian Reforms movement might have come into being because of the Rybkin and Chernomyrdin blocs's failure.

Agrarians Against Abolishing Presidency

LD0312110195 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1705 GMT 2 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 2 (INTERFAX) — Chairman of the Agrarian Party of Russia (APR) Mikhail Lapshin told INTERFAX Saturday that the APR would not insist on abolishing the presidency in Russia if it was a success in the pending elections to the State Duma on December 17. "The Agrarians consider such a proposal advanced by some opposition forces as leftists' deviations and do not support it," Lapshin said.

The APR leadership says the party embraces over 350,000 members.

"The Russian President is the head of the federation, a symbol of the country's unity," Lapshin said.

"However, Russia also needs not only a strong government but also a parliament which would have additional powers for forming the cabinet of ministers and controlling the executive power," Lapshin said. He said he believed that it was premature to discuss possible establishment of a presidential republic in Russia.

"All methods allowed by the Russian Constitution should be used for making the new State Duma stronger," Lapshin said. He said that in particular the issue should be submitted for a nationwide referendum and cooperation between the parliament and the federation's constituent members should be as close as possible.

Military & Nuclear Issues

Spokesman Views U.S. Reports on ABM Accords

LD0212143195 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1855 GMT 1 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS diplomatic correspondent]

[FBIS Translated Text] Moscow, 1 Dec — At the request of an ITAR-TASS correspondent, Mikhail Demurin, first deputy director of the Russian Foreign Ministry's information and press department, commented today on media reports from U.S. government sources that the United States has "reached a mutual understanding" with Russia on the expansion of its ABM system.

In the opinion of the Foreign Ministry's official spokesman, the question of permitted work in the field of antimissile defense systems is "extremely important in present conditions", since it is directly linked to the 1972 ABM treaty. The treaty still remains one of the most important in the structure of arms-control agreements, since it is "the cornerstone of strategic stability, the key condition for the reduction of strategic offensive weapons." The preservation and observance of the ABM treaty is the basis for drawing up several new agreements, too.

Many countries are currently showing an interest, Mikhail Demurin observed, in creating tactical ABM systems intended to combat nonstrategic ballistic missiles. "Work in this field must be performed in strict compliance with the treaty and must not lead to its being circumvented, i.e., it must not lead to the creation of strategic ABM defense systems on the pretext that they are for tactical defense."

Accordingly, the question of working out an understanding on distinguishing between strategic and tactical ABM defense has been under discussion for a lengthy period. The heart of the problem, the diplomat recalled, is "to establish parameters for tactical ABM systems that would not enable them to be used for the sake of strategic ABM defense."

As the diplomat emphasized, "the problem is not an easy one," and discussion of it is being conducted on both the political and expert levels. The diplomat recalled that the presidents of Russia and the United States adopted a special statement on the subject. The possibility of reaching an interim understanding is now being discussed, but the work is not yet complete and will require further efforts from the sides. There will soon be another session of the permanent consultative commission on observance of the ABM treaty.

According to Mikhail Demurin, the question of maintaining, strictly observing, and not circumventing the ABM treaty "is assuming such importance at the moment that any attempts to circumvent, downgrade, or subvert it may also have an adverse effect on the ratification of the START-2 treaty, as was bluntly stated in both the U.S. and our parliaments at the hearings on the treaty that are under way."

Servicemen's Congress Urges Troop Pull-Out From Chechnya

LD0312121295 Moscow 2x2 Television in Russian 1000 GMT 3 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The congress of the public association for the rights and social protection of servicemen and their families ends today at the Yauza Palace of Culture. Attended by delegates from 89 Russian regions, heated debate at the congress focused on violations of the rights of servicemen and members of their families and the unwillingness of the authorities to resolve the problem.

Participants adopted an address to the president, government, and prosecutor general's office of Russia, calling for an immediate troop pull-out from Chechnya, abolition of two-year service for the conscripts drafted in 1994-95, and amnesty for those forced into desertion by bullying.

Former Nuclear Missile Base Opens for Tourists

LD0112193495

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow NTV in Russian at 1900 GMT on 30 November in its "Segodnya" newscast carries a four-minute report by an unidentified correspondent on the formerly top-secret Valday missile base in Novgorod region, which has been opened to the public as a museum.

The correspondent begins by saying that after 1991, when the missile silos were eliminated under the terms of the SALT II treaty, the management of Valday national park and the local regional administration launched the idea of a museum. Major General Aleksandr Gribov, commander of the missile division, says the whole complex is on view, with the exception of defensive weapons.

Over video of control rooms, underground facilities, and nuclear installations, the correspondent says all the facilities above and below ground remain intact at the 22-hectare complex, which is fenced off by barbed wire. He goes on to describe some of the facilities: the power unit in the underground command center still operates, controlling all the operating systems, including the refrigeration center, where 40 tonnes of ice was kept frozen. This was enough to maintain normal temperatures for a month for a duty shift of two men to work and keep the equipment functioning. Three artesian wells, with a complex purification system, ensured uninterrupted water supplies, while a satellite link enabled communication with other command points, submarines, and space facilities. Armored doors protect the command complex from radiation, and protection against neutrons is provided by a layer of paraffin three meters thick. The command center, suspended on iron cables within a shaft eight meters in diameter, is divided into 12 sections and weighs 130 tonnes. The correspondent continues: Its heart is 30 meters down; it is from here that the command to launch an RS-16 intercontinental ballistic missile with its nuclear warhead would have been given.

The correspondent then says: "For some time to come, missile units will still be using shaft complexes like the one at Valday — and this one is open for all to see. One wonders whether some new-found nuclear terrorists might visit and study the installation carefully, and then try to seize an operating missile launching installation." Gribov responds: "The degree of protection against unauthorized missile launches is so high that even a specialist who studied this for years and knew the complex would not be able to carry out an unauthorized launch, to say nothing of anyone who just tries to get in."

The correspondent continues: "However, if no terrorists have so far been noticed at the former missile base, thieves have been here on more than one occasion. The facility is a very tasty tidbit for precious metal hunters. There is more than 150 tonnes of copper here alone." The correspondent adds that plunderers will be in for an unpleasant surprise soon, though, because a 1,200 volt electric fence is being installed beyond the two lines of barbed wire surrounding the complex.

The correspondent then says that the NTV television crew was among the first group of visitors allowed to visit the base, along with the wives and children of the missile officers. He concludes: "The base will soon be opened for foreign tourists, who will be able to take away pieces of missile plating as a souvenir of Valday."

Federal Assembly

Shumeyko on Elections, 'Smooth Handover of Power'

LD3011190595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow NTV in Russian at 2120 GMT on 29 November 95 carries the "Versions" program featuring Vladimir Shumeyko, chairman of the Federation Council, hosted by Sergey Dorenko. The program lasts 15 minutes.

Dorenko notes "In the absence of a president, Shumeyko would control the election of the country's new leader. In spite of the shakiness of his position — Vladimir Shumeyko will not necessarily head the new Federation Council — today it is he who decides what is virtually the main task for the ruling elite, that of a smooth handover of power, or succession of power. Only two of today's well-known politicians will definitely mean no shake-ups for the elite: Chernomyrdin and Shumeyko. In any event, they are the ones who will compete in the fight for the Kremlin if Yeltsin decides to step aside. Neither of them will crudely work against Yeltsin if the latter decides to stay on.

"It has been suggested that Prime Minister Chernomyrdin, following Chubays, cannot satisfy the demands of the military industrial complex; and that in parallel with Chernomyrdin, the Soskovets-Ilyushin-Korzhakov group is actively preparing to launch Vladimir Shumeyko onto the political market. Up to now, this job has not been done with any particular vigor, and some reckon it has actually been done pretty sloppily. Perhaps it is not worth doing it now at all, all the more so, in that real deeds are to be expected only once the president gives the command."

Interviewing Vladimir Shumeyko in a study, Dorenko asked whether "some kind of agreement exists about a handover of power in case something happens." Shumeyko replies: "Well, you know, in the first place, any change of power leads to a deterioration" in the situation. This deterioration is due to "a certain fear on the part of the current ruling elite. But as far as I understand — and the president and I pretty frequently exchange opinions on fundamental issues of state — the president is a supporter of a democratic change of power, whatever happens. That's the whole point: The president insists — consistently, purposefully, and constantly insists on holding presidential elections. It is another matter whether Boris Nikolayevich [Yeltsin] himself will run.

"The group that can be called the collective president, a specific group of personalities, posts, and so on, are all agreed that Boris Nikolayevich should run for a second term, precisely for the reasons you mentioned: in order that there should be no shake-ups and so on and so forth."

If Boris Yeltsin does not run for a second term, Shumeyko went on, a successor will be found, "but this will happen only through elections and in no other way, no other way is possible."

In a separate interview, Duma deputy Boris Zolotukhin says the Russian Constitution makes it quite clear that the Duma is elected, and the Federation Council formed — that is, it is constituted on a different basis from the Duma. Commenting on this in a continuation of his interview with Dorenko, Shumeyko emphasizes the need for accord between the Duma and the Federation Council on the principle of Russia as a federative state; Shumeyko quotes the relevant articles of the Federation Treaty. The Constitutional Court is to rule on 7 December on a number of issues relating to how the Federation Council is formed and when, under the Constitution, its term of office expires. The court's decision is final and subject to no appeal: "After 7 December all disputes will cease," Shumeyko says, emphasizing that the Federation Council needs a clear and definite judgement.

"The regional elites," Dorenko adds in the studio, "need the Federation Council so that they can play their game in Moscow. And the center needs it because while the regional leaders are represented in Moscow and are playing their game here rather than elsewhere, they will not pull Russia apart. Then the military industrial complex and industry needs the Federation Council as a means of exerting pressure on the small number of fuel-rich regions. And it objectively ensures that the leader of the military industrial complex will back whoever might head the senate, whether that be Soskovets or Shumeyko."

Public Monitoring of Duma Elections Urged

MM0412103395 Moscow ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI (Saturday Edition) in Russian 2 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Lyubov Tsukanova: "Stopping and Looking Round"]

[FBIS Translated Text] It has become known to ROSSIYSKIYE VESTI that a number of State Duma deputies will try yet again to submit for examination by the lower chamber amendments to legislative legislation. They are drawn up in two draft laws, one of which provides for the establishment of a "floating" barrier for participants in the election campaign while the other is concerned with public monitoring of the elections.

This attempt seems futile: The deputies are so involved in the election struggle and are so zealously showing society their confidence in victory that they will hardly want to listen to sane voices warning of danger. Yet this danger is real and consists in the fact that the blocs capable of overcoming the notorious barrier together may not collect even half the votes of all those who go to the polls. That means that over half the voters will be without their representatives in the Duma. The other half of the lower chamber formed from the winners in single-seat districts will be even less representative: Simple arithmetic shows that with an average of 12 candidates for a single seat single-round elections will give victory to the contender who has only slightly outstripped his rivals but collected a minority of the votes cast for all candidates. The introduction of a second round is one amendment suggested in the law.

A Duma which does not represent the majority of voters, whoever may be the "winner," is a serious blow to representational democracy. And the result could be legal protests both from the electoral associations which have not "reached" the 5 percent barrier and from citizens who consider their rights have been grossly flouted. As a minimum this will not add to the stability in society: The "Kazakhstan version" looms on the horizon since the Constitutional Court will hardly be able after the elections to avoid the solution of the question which faced it on the eve of the elections and was not taken into account.

It is humanly difficult rapidly to rectify mistakes made previously (and also in a hurry). In that one can understand the Duma. But the fears of that section of society which sees in the legislation's imperfection a threat to the principles of the Constitution is even more understandable. The tragedy of our public life is that this section of society has virtually no levers of influence: If you are not in power and have not created a political structure taking part in the elections then essentially your opinion is of no interest to anyone.

It is not even a case of the fact that the structures of a civil society have not been created. Ultimately this is a long business taking many years. The problem is rather that even the existing authoritative nonpolitical organizations have no chance of being heard, still less of influencing anything. Their initiatives either are of no interest to anyone or if they concern political matters give rise to a squall of suspicions and sharp rebuttal. Somehow the result has been that public life has been farmed out to politicians and they are very jealous of outside competition. Today nonpolitical organizations have no levers for influencing the authorities or rival political forces and that is one reason why many of them have run for the elections, creating unviable blocs and splitting the already far from monolithic electorate.

Today legislators are engaging far more actively in the provision of amenities for the authorities than they are in providing amenities for society, forgetting that in a democratic state power is only strong through public support. And if the election fever had not clouded the heads of our deputies they would unfailingly heed the voices calling on them to stop and think and correct something more in what can be rectified relatively easily today but tomorrow could require immeasurably harder and more dramatic efforts.

Chechen Elections Called 'Monstrous'

LD0412073795 Moscow INFORMATSIONNOYE AGENTSTVO EKHO MOSKVY in Russian 0635 GMT 4 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] "The decision to hold elections in Chechnya on 17 December is monstrous. What elections can one speak of, when the country is crammed full of troops?" human rights defender and Russian State Duma deputy Sergey Kovalev said in a live interview to Moscow Echo radio station.

In his view, "elections in Chechnya cannot be free and legitimate, because the various sides cannot be guaranteed equal opportunities."

Sergey Kovalev thinks that holding elections on 17 December is "a provocative decision, a step not to peace, but to a partisan war."

Glazyev, Boldyrev on "Improved" Production-Sharing Law

MK0212130395 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 1 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Svetlana Lolayeva: "'Competent State Bodies' To Monitor Production Sharing. Sergey Glazyev Thinks Draft Law 'Considerably Improved'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The protracted story involving the draft law "On Production Sharing Agreements" [PSA] appears to be coming to the homestretch. The cochairmen of the PSA law conciliation committee, Seregey Glazyev and Yuriy Boldyrev, told reporters about the committee's work at yesterday's news conference. The early report on the results of their committee's efforts, which is only going to meet on Sunday [3 December] to sum up, in the words of the speakers, is connected with "a massive campaign in the press to discredit the commission." Sergey Glazyev, chairman of the economic policy committee and a KRO [Congress of Russian Communities] leader, declared that despite the statements of the law's drafters, Aleksey Melnikov and Aleksey Mikhaylov (both are "Yabloko" faction deputies), the conciliation committee had managed to reach a compromise on the Federation Council's main critical remarks. Mr. Glazyev thinks that, as a result of the commission's efforts, the law has been "substantially improved." In particular, it has ruled out chances of signing treaties on mining contrary to Russia's interests. At the same time, as Senator Yuriy Boldyrev (whose quitting the "Yabloko" association was partly prompted by his disagreement with the PSA law drafted by the Duma faction) stressed, the conceptual basis of the law did not change. A substantial improvement, as Mr. Boldyrev sees it, is the fact that now production sharing agreements can be monitored not only by executive authorities but also by the other state bodies within whose jurisdiction this comes (the Counting Chamber, for example, whose deputy chairman is Mr. Boldyrev).

Sergey Glazyev, for his part, noted that the coordinated version of the law restricts the possibility of executive authorities to grant mining rights without holding a competitive tender and provides for a legislative approval of the lists of deposits for whose mining PSA's may be concluded. According to the economic policy committee chairman, preliminary agreement has also been reached with members of the conciliation committee on such fundamental questions as ending discrimination against Russian producers of mining equipment; introduction of a system of requirements to be met by investors regarding their ability to stand by their commitments; observance by investors of Russian laws on hard-currency regulation and monitoring; and legislative approval of large-scale projects. Yuriy Boldyrev added that they had managed to exclude the provision that made obligatory payments into the pension and other social funds dependent on collective agreements.

Sergey Glazyev expressed the hope that the conciliation committee would end its work on Sunday and that the law would be considered again by the Duma on Wednesday, 6 December. If it is approved by both houses (according to Mr. Glazyev's information, the government will not obstruct its signing by the president), investors will be able to start working on the PSA basis in the nearest future fearing no political or other risks. Sergey Glazyev feels that, had its drafters been more flexible, the law would have been passed long ago. However, answering a question of the reaction of potential investors to the new version of the law, Sergey Glazyev proudly stated that the committee had been seeking a compromise between parliament houses rather than between drafters of the law and investors.

Shumeyko Supports Draft Law on Federation Council

LD0112174895 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1349 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 1 (INTERFAX) — Vladimir Shumeyko, chairman of the Russian parliament's upper chamber, proposed that the conciliatory commission be guided by the draft law on formation of the Federation Council in its discussion of the concept and edition of this law. The draft law was adopted as a legislative initiative at an extraordinary meeting of the upper chamber on November 28.

Letters with such proposals were sent by Shumeyko to Russian President Boris Yeltsin, Duma Speaker Ivan Rybkin, Central Electoral Commission Chairman Nikolay Ryabov and presidential staff head Sergey Filatov, Shumeyko told correspondents Friday.

Under the draft law, the Federation Council shall include two representatives of each constituent member of the Russian Federation. They shall represent the representative and executive state power bodies formed in accordance with the constitution or rules of their region or republic. A decision on nomination of both members of the Federation Council shall be taken as outlined in the law of their region or republic.

In Shumeyko's opinion, "a merit of the draft law supported by 99 members of the Federation Council (the quorum is 90) is that it fully outlines principles of the corresponding bill submitted by the president to the State Duma in summer. The draft law proposed by the Federation Council also includes the proposals of the State Duma.'

"Another merit of this bill is a clear and efficient mechanism for formation of the Federation Council and transfer of powers of one Federation Council to its successor," stressed Shumeyko.

"I hope that the draft law supported by the Federation Council will be discussed by the conciliatory commission and we will find a golden mean. It is quite possible to adopt a particular variant of the law on formation of the Federation Council," said Shumeyko.

Given the absence of such a law, the president sent letters to speakers of the two chambers on November 30 with a proposal to "immediately discuss a concept and a particular variant of the law at the conciliatory commission with participation of Prime Minister Viktor Chernomyrdin and heads of the Central Electoral Commission." The President suggested basing discussion on his draft law on formation of the Federation Council.

"The lack of law on formation of the Federation Council makes real the threat of a constitutional deadend after December 12. It would be a matter of the legitimacy of the Federation Council and the capability of the whole parliament," said the president.

Sheynis on Upper House Formation Options

MK0112134895 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Dec 95 p 2

[Report by Ivan Rodin: "There Is Still No Law on Forming Federation Council. Viktor Sheynis Thinks Duma Can Override Veto"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Viktor Sheynis, "Yabloko" faction deputy and member of the Duma legislation committee, believes that the draft law on a procedure for forming the Federation Council proposed by the upper house itself in place of the Duma draft it turned down on the second reading, is absolutely unacceptable. In Mr. Sheynis's opinion, which he outlined for your NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA correspondent, the senators' legislative initiative, in accordance with which the upper house of the Federal Assembly will no longer be even a house of chiefs, but a house of those appointed by these chiefs, violates three vital constitutional principles. First and foremost, Viktor Sheynis thinks, it violates the principle of people's sovereignty, then the principle of the elective nature of parliament, and finally, the principle of the separation of powers.

The very fact that the Federation Council turned down the Duma draft law and proposed its own, the deputy thinks, "shows the haplessness of the road to surrender that the Duma embarked on by giving up the fight for the only democratic, consistent law." Viktor Sheynis regards as such the very first draft law on a procedure for forming the Federation Council, specifying that candidates for the upper house should be nominated only by executive and legislative power bodies in the regions, while at the same time being elected directly by the population. This law, according to Mr. Sheynis, did not exceed the limits of the Constitution, as the president and some of the senators believe it does. What is more, Viktor Sheynis remembered, the elective nature of the Federation Council was provided for at all stages of drafting the text of the new Constitution, and only right before the text was supposed to be published did there suddenly appear in it a clause permitting this principle to be dropped.

Viktor Sheynis described in detail the stages of the so-called compromise the Duma opted for, because most of its deputies, in his words, "look at the president as a rabbit would at a boa constrictor," and are afraid — not without grounds — that the Duma's operations would be blocked in the absence of an upper chamber. The first option passed called for the appointment of the heads of legislative and executive branches of Russian Federation components as senators. The latter, despite the president's edict, were given eight months to try and get elected. In Mr. Sheynis's opinion, using this draft, the Communists were trying to speed the election of governors, hoping these positions would be filled by their supporters. The president turned down this law and the Duma then went even further, passing the so-called Chelingarov draft turned down by the Federation Council — not without grounds, Viktor Sheynis thinks, because it is rather full of errors.

Viktor Sheynis believes that the Duma, which convenes for its scheduled plenary sitting on 6 December, is free to choose between four courses of action. He dubbed the first as unlikely, although he is going to insist precisely on it. Mr. Sheynis will first try to persuade his own faction and then the other deputies that the Duma should go back to the draft law that specifies that senators should be elected by the population.

The second option, which calls for "draining the bitter cup," is to agree with the Federation Council's initiative according to which senators can be absolutely random people as long as regional leaders like them. If this happens, the deputy thinks, the present Duma will hand to the next Duma a senate capable, in principle, of blocking any legislative proposal of the lower house.

Viktor Sheynis described as more or less realistic trying to overcome the Federation Council's veto. True, the success of this attempt largely depends on whether it would be possible to gather in Moscow a sufficient number of deputies, most of whom are now busy campaigning.

And the fourth option is to pass a new law on a procedure for forming the Federation Council and to insist firmly that it should provide for the direct election of regional chiefs, while agreeing with the procedural and status proposals of the current upper chamber. Work on this option will, of course, take a rather long time, for which reason it may be thrown out.

Most likely, the Duma will try to override the Federation Council's veto. If it fails, although this is unlikely, the Duma will perhaps approve the upper house's legislative initiative. Something that actually raises no doubts is that the Duma will not be able to manage without certain amendments, which naturally will not add any clarity to the situation surrounding the law on forming the Federation Council.

Duma Aide Glazyev Hits 1996 Budget Draft

MM0112130095 Moscow PRAVDA ROSSII in Russian 30 Nov 95 p 3

[Article by Sergey Glazyev, chairman of the State Duma Committee on Economic Policy: "'Apres Nous le Deluge' — That Was What the State Duma Decided, in Voting To Adopt the 1996 Budget at the First Reading"]

[FBIS Translated Text] One could, of course, agree with the thesis that living with a bad budgpet is better than living with no budget at all, were it not for one fact. For many citizens of our country, with such a budget it is simply impossible to survive. The concept proposed by the government of zero growth and an increase in the state debt coupled with a reduction in budget expenditure in real terms dooms education, health care, science, and culture to extinction. It entails the profound destruction of scientific and technical potential and the elimination of Russia's economic autonomy and political independence.

The government concept of the federal budget structure for 1996, as in the previous year, is based on understating the predicted inflation level. The result of this principle in the current year has been that with a real inflation rate amounting to about 8 percent per month, budget expenditure was calculated on the premise of average monthly inflation of 2.5-3 percent. This led to a sharp decline in real wages (below the minimum living wage) in sectors in the budget-funded sphere, substantial underfunding of the Armed Forces, the exacerbation of the crisis in science and science-intensive industry, and the weakening of social protection. Nobody takes responsibility for the effective failure of the budget.

The stubbornness with which the government defends deliberately understated inflation rates prompts the thought that it has set itself — and is successfully achieving — the task of planning the budget in such a way that some 15-20 percent of federal budget revenue is not protected by the law on the federal budget and can be spent by the government over the year, free from controls.

The understating of the predicted inflation rate by more than half (the conciliation commission adopted for budget calculations an average monthly level of inflation of 1.9 percent, as against 3-5 percent according to the predictions of the country's leading research centers) will lead to a reduction in real budget expenditure of more than 15 percent compared to the level planned for 1996. With this approach, next year the wages of doctors, teachers, and workers in the defense industry and culture could be only half the minimum living wage.

Of course we would like inflation to be at the 1-percent level next year, or even better, zero. But let us assess the government's policy soberly — do we have reason to believe that the government will be able to achieve a reduction in inflation even to 1.9 percent per month?

The prime minister recently announced that he has decided to freeze the prices of energy sources and products of natural monopolies. This is a really important decision. If it was actually fulfilled, we could expect a reduction in the inflation rate, since, according to the calculations of the Ministry of Economics, half of the inflationary growth of prices in 1995 was due to abuses by natural monopolies of their position on the market — inflating the prices of their own output (mains gas prices increased 13-fold, and the prices of heat and electricity more than threefold). However, even in October the price of mains gas went up 23 percent and fuel 13 percent, prices of housing and municipal services increased correspondingly by 14 percent, and the overall rise in prices in October was 5 percent.

Here the government, in making the decision on calculating the income level from bonds issued by the Finance Ministry, uses as a basis for calculation the figure of around 100 percent annual interest, which in practice means that inflation is expected to be at the level of 5 percent per month.

Now, about the potential revenue. Unfortunately, the conciliation commission rejected practically all the obvious avenues for increasing budget revenue. Among other things, despite widely publicized statements on the need to protect the interests of Russian commodity producers, neither the government nor the State Duma ventured to support the demand for a small increase in the level of protection of the domestic market, which could have provided additional revenue of 55 trillion rubles [R], eliminated payment defaults on excise duties and payment for mineral resources on the part of privileged raw materials supermonopolies, and increased the rate of collection of value added tax. Stopping abuses by monopolies, tax evasion, and smuggling could have provided a further R95 trillion or so in additional revenue.

Why do we tolerate a situation where payment for mineral resources, especially from oil and gas deposits, is exacted only at the level of 70 percent of what the enterprises are supposed to pay into the budget? And this at a time when natural gas prices, between March and October this year, have risen from 35 to 70 percent of world prices?

Take the problem of the black economy. Only half of the commodity turnover is currently being taxed. With gaps like that in the budget, it is simply a disgrace to talk about the need to attract foreign loans to the tune of around R40 trillion.

Naturally, without the adoption of urgent, effective measures to strengthen tax, customs, currency, and banking controls, an increase in revenue cannot be achieved. But if the implementation of such measures is at least begun, it is perfectly feasible to obtain 50-60 percent of the potential sum of R150 trillion as early as 1996.

The conciliation commission, while ignoring these obvious avenues for increasing budget revenue, at the same time decided to reject the imposition of a state monopoly on circulation of ethyl alcohol, the tightening of control on the alcohol market, and the restriction of alcohol imports. It preferred to tackle the budget revenue problem by imposing hidden taxes on Russian commodity producers and increasing tax payments by small enterprises and scientific research organizations.

Therefore the Committee on Economic Policy deemed it impossible to adopt the draft law "On the Federal Budget for 1996" at the first reading. [Glazyev ends]

[Editorial postscript] For the Reader's Information

Although the stance of the Committee on Economic Policy was supported by the Communist Party, "Yabloko," and DPR [Democratic Party of Russia] factions, the State Duma did adopt the 1996 budget at the first reading. Those who voted eagerly for a budget which is patently detrimental to the interests of the majority of the population were the LDPR [Liberal Democratic Party of Russia] (Zhirinovskiy), "Russia's Choice" (Gaydar), the Agrarian Party (Lapshin), the PRES [Party of Russian Unity and Accord] (Shakhray), "Women of Russia" (Lakhova), and the "Russia" and "Stability" groups.

Regional Affairs

Chechnya Reportage; Negotiations, Military, Politics

Lobov: Chechnya To Have 'Special Status'

LD0312171595 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian 1500 GMT 3 Dec 95

[Video report by correspondent Andrey Murtazin; from the "Novosti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Murtazin] Oleg Lobov, the Russian president's representative in Chechnya, today briefed the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] mission in Groznyy on Moscow's latest decisions on Chechnya.

An edict by Boris Yeltsin on legal safeguards for members of illegal armed gangs will allow anyone who has not committed grave crimes to take advantage of an amnesty, voluntarily surrender his weapons, and return to civilian life.

- What is very important is that decisions regarding the amnesty will be made by a commission, now being set up, which will be chaired by the head of the Chechen government and will have no input whatsoever from Moscow. This means that the Russian president has in fact passed some of his powers to the republic. [video shows Lobov speaking to journalist]

[Begin recording] [Murtazin] Can we say that this edict is a move toward putting into practice the idea of a special status for Chechnya within Russia?

[Lobov] Absolutely. A treaty is now being drafted on the basis for relations between the Russian Federation and the Chechen Republic. The first clause of this draft treaty says that the Russian Federation recognizes that the Chechen Republic should have a special status. That means that authority over affairs of state will lie directly with the Chechen Republic. [end recording

[Murtazin] Oleg Lobov also said Chechnya will receive a considerable degree of independence in foreign trade matters. However, the currency system, the army, and external borders must remain as one. He also gave assurances that the volume of restoration work in the republic in 1996 will be three times the present level.

Zavgayev Confident of Amnesty Edict

LD0312213195 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1700 GMT 3 Dec 95

[From the "Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] News agencies report that Doku Zavgayev, head of Chechnya, told a news conference in Groznyy today that by an edict of President Yeltsin a commission was set up to examine the applications from the fighters who have laid down arms to be exonerated. Zavgayev said that Yeltsin's edict differed from the draft submitted by the Chechen Government and the Russian Ministry for Nationalities. It stipulated full and unconditional amnesty for all Dudayev's fighters except about 200 field commanders and those involved in the Budennovsk hostage-taking. The final text of the edict says that the Chechens who have laid down arms should submit relevant applications to the commission. Observers believe that in this wording the edict will fail to attain the goals set by Moscow, in other words, it will hardly persuade the majority of Dudayev's supporters to lay down arms. Zavgayev, however, thinks differently.

[Correspondent M. Velikoselskiy, reporting from Zavgayev's news conference] Doku Gapurovich said that this edict opens a new stage of restoring peace in the republic. A commission is now being formed that will include representatives from the government, the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe], the public, and lawyers. Chaired by Zavgayev, the commission will make final decisions on all specific cases. In addition, the head of government said that within the next day or two yet another document, extremely important for Chechnya, will be signed in Moscow. It is a program for restoring the republic's economy. It includes full compensation for the damage caused to the population, gas supply to the villages, repair of roads, and many other things aimed to ensure average Russian living standards for the local population.

[Begin Zavgayev recording] We are working vigorously and in a dynamic manner with the Russian Government and solving all the problems. [end recording]

[Velikoselskiy] As regards preparations for the elections, Doku Zavgayev said that his government will take every necessary step to ensure that they are held in an organized and calm way. Civilized and constitutional protection measures will be taken against possible sabotage.

'As Many As 600' Nuclear Bombs in Chechnya

MM0112150495 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1-8 Dec 95 p 5

["It Could Only Happen Here" report by Boris Vishnevskiy on interview with retired Colonel Zaki Zaynullin, "a leader of the Tatarstan national movement"; date and place not given: "How Many Nuclear Warheads Does Dudayev Have? An Eye-Witness Claims: It Runs Into Tens, If Not Hundreds"; followed by boxed report by Sergey Pluzhnikov]

[FBIS Translated Text] Kazan — From a KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA dossier. Zaki Luftullovich Zaynullin. Retired colonel. Doctor of technical sciences. Graduate of Irkutsk Military Aviation School. Trained at Semipalatinsk training area. Worked in Defense Ministry 12th Main Directorate (specialization — nuclear and hydrogen bombs). Taught at Riga Military Missile School. Doctoral dissertation on the durability of solid-propellant charges. He spent 36 years in the Soviet army. Lives in Kazan. A leader of the Tatarstan national movement.

Base in Shali as Part of the Scenery

In August 1992 Zaynullin arrived in Groznyy "to hold talks on behalf of the Tatar "shadow parliament" — the Milli Mejlis. He described his two-day stay in the journal IDEL:

"Dudayev said to me:

"'I will show you the weapons abandoned by Russian forces. There may well be nuclear and hydrogen bombs among them.'

"We flew to a military base, in Shali, by helicopter. Dzhokhar explained:

"'In 1949 a general arrived from Moscow. He climbed to the top of a mountain and they said to him: "This is the most beautiful, most fertile place in the heart of Chechnya." He replied: "Fine. This is where we will locate the military base!"'

"The door to the building had been welded. There were no guards. Dudayev ordered the door to be opened with a crowbar. Inside there was everything you could want. Tanks, armored personnel carriers, truck tractors.... What interested me was three crane trucks. They are special vehicles, used in the field in the absence of fixed cranes to lift nuclear and hydrogen bombs.

"We walked on. I picked up from the ground a small, octagonal box with a leather handle.

"'This, Dzhokhar, is a special small container for the fuzes for a nuclear bomb. Look, here are 32 holes, one fuze in each.'

"Then we found a tarpaulin-covered tractor truck. We uncovered it. I climbed over the wheels of the truck tractor onto a special platform where you could work standing up and began my inspection. There were three tactical missiles in the truck. They were solid-propellant missiles with a range of 200-300 kilometers, rotating around their own axis in flight. OK, let's see if there are bombs attached to the missile heads. No, one of them is empty. The bomb has been hurriedly removed. This is evidenced by the torn cable. The inspection cover had also been ripped out, taking some of the surrounding material with it....

"I asked for a stick of some kind. I was immediately provided with a broom. I poked it inside the bomb casing — empty. Two other nuclear bombs lay untouched. I gave each a tap. The diagnosis was that both were in readiness condition one. That is, everything was in place and the fuzes were installed. It only had to be launched!

"[Zaynullin] President-effendi! You have two nuclear bombs here! They're all yours!

"[Dudayev] Fine, Zaki-aga, but can you prove they are nuclear bombs?

"[Zaynullin] Look! See the Pitot tubes fixed to the casing at an angle of 120 degrees?

"[Dudayev] Yes. You get them on any aircraft.

"[Zaynullin] Yes. But what are they for?

"[Dudayev] To measure the speed of the aircraft.

"[Zaynullin] But in this case they measure the height at which the bombs explode. Ordinary bombs do not have these tubes.

"[Dudayev] What other proof can you provide?

"[Zaynullin] The casing is filled with helium at a pressure of five atmospheres so that moisture does not get inside and there is no dramatic change in temperature. If we continue to unscrew these screws you will begin to hear the hiss of escaping helium.

"I had not finished speaking when we began to hear the noise of compressed gas issuing from under the cover.

"'Screw it back on!' Dzhokhar said. 'Or it'll explode.'

"We both laughed"

Take a Chance and Get the Tanks into the Mountains

I met with Zaynullin in Kazan.

"The 'Two Bombs' chapter ends at a very interesting point. What happened next?" I asked Zaki Lutfullovich.

[Zaynullin] While I was there Dzhokhar wrote down the casing numbers and the index numbers of the nuclear bombs and sent a letter to President Yeltsin. The approximate content was as follows. Your forces forgot something in their haste to get out of Chechnya in 1991. Let us discuss what to do. He received no reply.

[Vishnevskiy] Now, three years on, you have no doubts about what you saw in Shali?

[Zaynullin] No, I am sure they were nuclear bombs. Since I am a specialist in strategic rather than tactical weapons I could be wrong on details, but not on the main issue.

[Vishnevskiy] Let us return to the details, to the specifications of the projectiles.

[Zaynullin] They were called 'Mars' and 'Luna.' Solid propellant. Gray in color. Yield 0.15 megatonnes, diameter 1 meter, length 8-9 meters. There is a training center there, in Shali. It has a mock-up of a nuclear projectile. Of course, pilots do not always know what is being slung beneath their aircraft. I can vouch for that as a former technician-mechanic and then mechanical engineer servicing aircraft. But there is no doubt about what I saw in Shali.

[Vishnevskiy] Did you see Dudayev again?

[Zaynullin] Yes. The second meeting was even more interesting. In November 1992 he invited me to attend the independence anniversary. On the 9th there was the ceremony; on the morning of the 10th Russian tanks started moving from the direction of Nazran. Around 20 vehicles turned off the highway into the mountains, near Ulus-Martan, instead of proceeding to Groznyy. I went there with Dzhokhar and his security minister. We looked at the general's map: Not far from there, near Bamut, actually on the tanks' route, there was a military garrison. We dashed over there. There were Chechens living in the military camp's five four-story houses. We went to the servicing area. There were test benches, special racks, and an inscription on the wall: "Alkaline Accumulators." Unlike ordinary acid accumulators, they are used in nuclear and hydrogen weapons. There was another inscription: "Liquid and Gaseous Helium." What that was for I have already described.

Nuclear Stockpile as a Cause of the Chechen War?

We asked: "Did any locals serve here?" They brought an old Chechen. "Where did the concrete road lead to? When were the flags removed?" He pointed in the direction where, 5-6 kilometers further on (sown with grass in 1991 to disguise it), there appeared part of the concrete road that had not been hastily removed. On the right stood a bridge crane. It was intact, only the power unit having been removed. The mechanism and the cables were thickly coated in grease. Not far away there were two underground passages behind steel doors. The interior of the doors was packed with sand and they were mounted on bearings. Further on there was a flat meadow about 500 meters in circumference. On it there were iron "caps," 6-8 meters in diameter, on a track. There must have been at least three underground missiles beneath them.

I told Dudayev that all the indications were that it was a base for two-stage strategic missiles, moreover the "owners" were hoping to return, otherwise they would have blown up the passages and the "caps"; indeed why keep the mechanism greased? Anyway, it certainly set us thinking.

Dzhokhar was extremely concerned. He was intent on opening up the passageways. But I stopped him. "Are you sure they are not mined, general?" Our time was up and we had to return.

Nuclear Belt on a "Soft Underbelly"

[Vishnevskiy] Zaki Lutfullovich, let us do some sums. In your opinion, how many nuclear weapons are there in Chechnya at the moment?

[Zaynullin] In a single depot, in a semi-underground building (the facility near Chernobyl), we used to keep 100-150 bombs. When you consider that the base has three-four sections, the number of nuclear bombs could be as many as 600. We are talking about the nuclear base near Groznyy (Groznyy-20, Defense Ministry 12th Main Directorate military unit). It was manned by troops in naval uniform, like, for example, the Crimean base of Akburun, and another one, near Murmansk. Products were delivered there straight from the plant, they were checked, placed in containers, and stored in special conditions. To take this stockpile away you would need a 1 km-long convoy of trucks going to Nazran or Makhachkala, and, obviously, it would have been noticed straight away. We should add to this likely number a further 30 or so bombs in Bamut and two in Shali....

[Vishnevskiy] Why were so many weapons concentrated in Chechnya specifically?

[Zaynullin] You must remember the Soviet military doctrine. Where do you keep the arsenal of weapons for the Southern Group? Muslim Central Asia is unstable, Christian Armenia is too near the border. Chechnya, protected by Christian Georgia, was the ideal base, which was being "stuffed full" until recently.

Who Will the General Entrust His Dagger To?

[Vishnevskiy] Do you remember how much fuss there was over the question of who armed Dudayev?

[Zaynullin] When the real threat of a Russian army attack arose, people opened the arms dumps themselves. Prior to that Dzhokhar had succeeded in getting a ruling on military service for Chechens within the bounds of their own homeland through the Supreme Soviet. What happened was there were three companies in the battalion, one of them was entirely Chechen. Colleagues "from outside" were simply told to abandon their weapons and leave. So far so good. But then the army started to flee. And it was not only assault rifles that they abandoned....

[Vishnevskiy] Zaki Lutfullovich, as a military man, you are well aware how nuclear weapons need to be handled....

[Zaynullin] You are wondering whether there are any specialists in that field in Chechnya? Plenty, I can assure you. Incidentally, I read somewhere the other day: You still have to be able to explode a nuclear bomb. Why try to complicate matters? If worst comes to worst, drop it from an aircraft: It will operate at 20-30 percent of its capacity. Even if a missile accidentally blows up you will get 12 percent of the radiation, flash, and shock wave....

[Pluzhnikov report] In the summer "Greenpeace" published information on places in Russia where nuclear weapons are based. The report pointed out that there was a Russian long-range strategic aircraft base near the combat zone in Chechnya. Tu-95 bombers with an arsenal of 316 nuclear warheads were based in Mozdok.

This information shocked the world public, because it was announced almost immediately after the Chechen gunmen's terrorist act in Budennovsk. Although "Greenpeace's" Russian representatives did not conceal from journalists the fact that they used 1992 figures to prepare their report. A check revealed that in January 1995, when it became clear that not only an airborne assault regiment, but the entire Russian army would not be able to deal with the Dudayevites in two hours [as boasted by Defense Minister Grachev], the nuclear weapons were relocated to an air base in the city of Engels. We were told this by someone close to the Russian air force command.

The relocation of the bombers is an incontrovertible fact. One truncated Tu-95 has remained in Mozdok — on a plinth, as a monument. But there are doubts about the transfer of all the nuclear weapons, considering the current level of discipline in the Russian army. But it is not easy obtaining details: The specialists servicing nuclear weapons are called "deaf and dumb" in the air force.

Aide: No Missile Forces, Hardware Present

MM0112150795 Moscow KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA in Russian 1-8 Dec 95 p 2

[Unattributed report: "In Place of the Editor's Column"]

[FBIS Translated Text] While preparing the article which, we hope, you will read on page five we asked specialists: Is it possible that Dudayev has nuclear weapons? It is somehow incredible, or, rather, it is too frightening to believe.

"Having studied the article 'How Many Nuclear Warheads Does Dudayev Have?' which was prepared for the press and which alleged that weapons belonging to the Strategic Missile Forces are to be found on Chechen Republic territory, I write to inform you that there are neither Strategic Missile Forces personnel nor weapons on Chechen territory.

"A missile division armed with R-12 missile complexes was stationed on the territory of the Northern Caucasus (in the city of Orzhonikidze) in the seventies. One subunit of this division, comprising four launch silos, was located in the region of the Bamut population center mentioned in the article in question. In 1980-1981 the division was decommissioned and all the Strategic Missile Forces weaponry and military equipment were removed to arsenals and destroyed within the framework of the Treaty on Intermediate- and Shorter-Range Missiles under the control of the relevant U.S. inspection commissions. All the launch silos were rendered incapable of being used for their intended purpose."

[Signed] Colonel General V. Yesin, chief of the Strategic Missile Forces Main Staff

29 November 1995

The specialists quickly said "no" — above we publish in full one of the documents received. Moreover, hints about unprecedented military forces and all manner of Dudayevite provocations in preparation have become markedly more frequent just recently: It would appear that the gunmen themselves are actually fueling these rumors in an attempt to prevent elections in Chechnya. If the radioactive container in Izmaylovo provoked such a fuss (a Chechen trail was picked up immediately), what can you say about bombs....

However, we believe that the information contained in our own corespondent's report from Kazan should not be discounted. The gunmen know not only how to intimidate by means of terrorist acts but also how to kill — Budennovsk is bloody confirmation of this. Dudayev's supporters have plenty of weapons — of all kinds; by and large it is well known where they got them from — they armed themselves.

In short, our opinion is that we should not panic, but we must verify the facts. If the article helps to dispel a dangerous rumor, we will consider our goal to have been achieved.

Death Toll Rises in Groznyy Bombing

LD0412121095 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1147 GMT 4 Dec 95

[By Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY December 4 (ITAR-TASS) — The mighty car-bomb blast in central Groznyy took a death toll of four people and over 20 were hospitalised with injuries, Russian deputy executive chief in Chechnya Vladimir Zorin told TASS on Monday quoting preliminary data.

The car parked close to the premises of the federal executive authorities in Chechnya took place at 12:15 hours Moscow time (09:15 GMT) and broke window glass in houses situated half a kilometre away. It was initially reported that two people were killed and 15 wounded.

Zorin was brief in comments saying only that the "explosion was aimed against the people, against the settlement of the conflict in the republic".

"But we shall continue to look for peaceful ways out of the Chechen conflict", he stressed.

He said the Russian federal authorities were quick in providing first medical aid to those injured and in launching rescue work. "We continue to work in full scope", Zorin said.

Among those injured was Aleksandr Yevtushenko, the correspondent of the popular "KOMSOMOLSKAYA PRAVDA" newspaper. He was staying in the building of the territorial department of Russian federal authorities when the blast occurred. Yevtushenko told TASS the explosion broke the window of the room and threw him to the other corner of it.

The reporter received a head wound, but said he was feeling well after receiving the first medical aid.

Ministry Team To Negotiate Hostage Release

LD0212155895 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 1512 GMT 2 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS special correspondent Aleksandr Kharchenko]

[FBIS Translated Text] Groznyy, 2 Dec (ITAR-TASS) — An investigation team and officers from the Chechen Interior Ministry left for Bamut on 2 December to conduct talks with Dudayev fighters who kidnapped Sultan Satuyev, head of the department of internal affairs of the Oktyabrskiy district of Groznyy, and television journalists from Groznyy. This was reported today by Khamid Inalov, minister of internal affairs of the republic.

A few days ago a minibus carrying Sultan Satuyev, Groznyy television reporter Musa Akhmadov, and cameraman Gikalo Dadayev was captured by unidentified people near Urus-Martan. The Chechen Interior Ministry has been searching for the kidnapped people for the last two days.

Inalov said the hostages had been taken by Chechen fighters to Bamut on 2 December.

Abduction of Education Minister Denied

LD0212112795 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1116 GMT 2 Dec 95

[By Aleksander Kharchenko]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, December 2 (ITAR-TASS) — The destiny of Efim Gelman, Education Minister of the Chechen Republic, disappeared in Groznyy on November 30 is obscure.

"We have no pretexts for the search so far", said a high ranked official of the Chechen Ministry of Interior in an interview with ITAR-TASS.

There is a supposition that Dudayev's militants want to intimidate Russian-speaking residents by the Gelman's kidnapping. Dudayev's representatives in Groznyy, in their turn, deny their participation in the act.

Khasbulatov Criticizes Date of Elections

LD0212152695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1500 GMT 2 Dec 95

[By Aleksandr Kharchenko and Sharip Asuyev]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, December 2 (ITAR-TASS) — Former Russian parliament speaker Ruslan Khasbulatov arrived in Chechnya on Saturday to propose his programme of conflict settlement in this breakaway North Caucasus region of Russia.

"I have brought a specific programme of peace," Khasbulatov told journalists upon his arrival in the Chechen capital Grozny.

Khasbulatov, one of the three candidates running for Chechen presidency, made it clear that he did not approve of the date of elections scheduled for December 17.

"They are trying to force blitz elections upon people, without preparing the necessary conditions," he said. "But who will take responsibility if conflicts begin, with murders? I believe that this responsibility should lie on the federal authorities and the new administration of Doku Zavgayev."

Today's scathing criticism of presidential elections in Chechnya may signify an unexpected turn in Khasbulatov's views, for just a day ago, in an interview with ITAR-TASS, he spoke of the polls in a positive tone.

Khasbulatov said he had collected 26,000 signatures and was going to "Chechnya in order to organise his election campaign under the motto of reconciliation."

He said he was confident of his victory, adding that he had no "serious contenders" in Chechnya.

Earlier today, the Chechen Central Electoral Commission registered two other candidates to run for Chechen presidency.

They are Doku Zavgayev, present head of the Chechen government, and Lecha Saligov, head of the Committee for Publishing and Book Trade.

Two other candidates — Zayindi Movlatov and Movsar Aduyev — have been eliminated from the election race after the former has withdrawn his candidature and the latter failed to collect the required number of signatures in his support.

The deadline for the submission of documents is 18:00 Moscow time (15:00 GMT) today.

Khasbulatov said he intended to stay in Chechnya until after the official results have been announced.

Further Khasbulatov Comments; Zavgayev

LD0212180795 Moscow NTV in Russian 1600 GMT 2 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ruslan Khasbulatov, one of those running for the post of head of the Chechen Republic, arrived in Groznyy today. The former speaker of the Russian Supreme Soviet expressed confidence in his victory in the elections on 17 December, should they indeed take place.

[Begin Khasbulatov recording] If you are following events closely, you have probably seen for yourselves that I am unbeaten politically. [end recording]

Khasbulatov announced that he was the only one who had a real plan for restoring peace in Chechnya. Ruslan Imranovich also spoke rather sharply of Doku Zavgayev who, he said, had ignored all the agreements on resuming talks, establishing relations with Moscow, and holding elections in March. Khasbulatov called Zavgayev's behavior hypocritical.

[Begin Khasbulatov recording] Nobody who is in the running here, nobody who is speaking here has a program. I have not only a concrete program, I am also putting forward now concrete actions. [end recording]

Khasbulatov is convinced that his draft treaty with Russia will become the basis for peace. The first step is to resume talks immediately — today or tomorrow. Furthermore, the status of the Chechen Republic should be defined; dual citizenship, a single monetary system, and joint defense of the borders should be introduced and Chechnya should renounce having a regular army at any time. [video shows Khasbulatov surrounded by people]

Election Deadline Shows Four Candidates

LD0312111695 Moscow INTERFAX in English 0951 GMT 3 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] GROZNYY, Dec 2 (INTERFAX) — The deadline for application for the December 17 presidential elections in Chechnya expired at 6 p.m. Saturday, Chechnya's Central Electoral Commission Chairman Yakub Sabirov told INTERFAX Saturday evening.

Chechen Prime Minister Doku Zavgayev, former speaker of Russia's Supreme Soviet Ruslan Khasbulatov, Chechnya's State Publishing Committee Chairman Lecha Saligov and psychic Movsar Aduyev submitted the required number of signatures, he added. The election law requires a candidate submits at least 5,000 signatures in his support.

According to Sabirov, his commission has so far formally registered Zavgayev only and will consider registration of other candidates next Monday.

Sabirov said the same meeting will consider participation of federal servicemen in the Chechen elections. "This chiefly applies to the elections to the State Duma. As far as the presidential elections are concerned, the common opinion is that the military should not take part in this voting," he added.

According to October information, as many as 531,000 electors reside in Chechnya. However, Sabirov said this figure will reduce to 400,000 to 450,000 people as "people are fleeing from the republic on the eve of a cold winter." "There is no electricity. Homes are not heated. Naturally, many try to leave for warmer places or to their relatives for more comfortable conditions," he added.

Moscow Envoy on Election Outlook

MK0212125995 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Dec 95 p 3

[Interview with Vladimir Zorin, deputy chief of the Territorial Administration of the Russian Federation Executive Branch in the Chechen Republic, by Ivan Vladimirov; in Moscow "a few days ago": "Politics Have Affected Every Chechen Family. Vladimir Zorin Is Confident Elections Will Take Place"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Vladimirov] What is the purpose of your current visit to Moscow?

[Zorin] I have come to see my family. I have been in Chechnya since 20 March, and during this time I have been home for only 11 days. I also took part in a conference at the Nationalities Ministry related to working out a document on relations between the Chechen Republic and the Russian Federation. Now a whole number of influential political forces in Chechnya have joined this process. At present there are three drafts — one proposed by the Chechen government, one by Khasbulatov, and one by Ruslan Avtarkhanov's People's Democratic Party — a "roundtable" of Chechen public-political organizations.

[Vladimirov] What are the basic differences between these plans?

[Zorin] They differ in the degree of delegated powers. Effectively all of them proceed from two basic assumptions — the territorial integrity of the Russian Federation and the need to ensure the people of the Chechen Republic a sufficient level of independence in dealing with economic, political, and cultural matters. And another very important thing is that this document should provide guarantees against a recurrence of the 1944 and 1994 tragedies. All three plans are influenced by the recently-emerged special status of the Chechen Republic.

[Vladimirov] Could you please help straighten out the Chechen power structure? The National Revival Government, Zavgayev's Supreme Soviet, the National Accord Committee, your territorial administration, Oleg Lobov's staff, and recently Yusup Soslambekov have declared parliament to be the only legitimate entity — not to mention the military authorities. How do they interact? Who answers to whom? How are their powers divided?

[Zorin] Indeed, such a question exists. When incumbent head of government Doku Zavgayev talks about elections, this is what he intends to address somehow. Everything should be seen in the dynamics here. All these structures did not emerge overnight; they have their own history, and they will have their finale. When in December 1994 the Territorial Administration of the Russian Federation Executive Branch in the Chechen Republic was created, it was the only agency which performed federal administrative functions there. There were no others. Subsequently the Territorial Administration was tasked with restoring constitutional power structures.

[Vladimirov] But the government was formed before the administration.

[Zorin] It consisted of a chairman and three deputy premiers. But there was no normal apparat — ministries, departments, municipal and rayon authorities, or enterprise directors. Therefore, initially all these functions were entrusted to the administration, which coordinated all work except for military affairs. The president's plenipotentiary representation is distinct in that it is invested with the functions of coordinating the activity of all departments, including military and law enforcement agencies. By 23 March municipal and rayon authorities and the government apparat were fully restored. From that moment functions began to be gradually transferred to these local authorities. After the Supreme Soviet's functions were resumed, all legitimate power branches that existed as of 1991 were restored. Each branch has its own jurisdiction. Regulating rights are vested with the president's plenipotentiary representative. In other words, the Territorial Administration exists prior to elections to the Chechen Republic National Assembly, and after a legitimate government has been formed, our functions will be terminated. We are an agency which creates the conditions for self-destruction.

[Vladimirov] Here is one very pressing question — about the upcoming elections. Do you think they will take place?

[Zorin] A most topical question indeed. I think that the elections will take place. The turnout will be no less than 25 percent. You should understand that the population of the Chechen Republic is the most politicized in the Russian Federation today. Politics has affected every household, every family; therefore, people will take a stand on this issue. After all, in the last five years nobody has asked the Chechen people their opinion. In this case these will be the first elections in the past five years. Russia has gone through many more elections during this time.

[Zorin] There is much talk today about army servicemen's participation in the elections and that they will be key to ensuring the requisite 25-percent turnout. I should like to know how many local voters there are in Chechnya, and how many military servicemen.

[Vladimirov] The size of the electorate is currently being clarified, and there should be no haste in this matter. But their number will be several hundred thousand. As for the soldiers, there are two aspects to this question. Everybody has the right to take part in the Duma elections — this question is not subject to debate. If you are a Russian Federation citizen, presumably you act on the assumption that Chechnya is a component of the Russian Federation. As for elections for the head of the republic, this is the prerogative of the local authorities, who establish who may take part in the elections. But a permanent [troop] contingent has such a right by the law of any country in the world. Its size is approximately 10,000.

[Vladimirov] But the Central Election Committee maintains that under Russian legislation, temporarily assigned [komandirovannyye] army servicemen have every right to participate in electing the head of the republic.

[Vladimirov] Quite right. But this question immediately became the focus of close attention, because those who are against the elections are very afraid that they will take place. I would say this: Today the problem of elections is a watershed between those who are for a peaceful settlement and those who are against it. Election opponents have no serious case to present.

The side which is today in the mountains has only one argument — threats. Other political parties only say that there are no ideal conditions. But the situation in the republic is such that ideal conditions will not be in place for some time to come. People cannot live in a situation where their opinion is ignored.

Next. What are the elections for head of the republic? The law says that he is elected for two years, for a transition period. During this time the head of the executive branch should, I believe, before 10 April 1996, hold parliamentary elections and a referendum on the future — not status, but state structure — of the Chechen Republic. Chechnya's public-political parties are also changing their positions today. Many favor such elections, and are going to take part in them.

[Vladimirov] I cannot help asking you how you assess your own chances of being elected to the State Duma.

[Vladimirov] There is a slight misunderstanding here. I am not a candidate in a single-seat constituency. There is a belief that I have a personal interest. I have none. Eight candidates were nominated in the 31st Constituency of the Chechen Republic, all of them Chechens. I am on one regional list of Russia Is Our Home [NDR] (41 lists all in all). As for the NDR's chances, in Chechnya I rate them as very high, because Chernomyrdin is greatly respected there, well known for his principled position on the peaceful settlement of the crisis, and the government's outstanding performance in rebuilding the economic and social sphere [in Chechnya] is highly admired. Leaders of other parties and movements have visited Chechnya merely as "political tourists."

[Vladimirov] There is a belief that Moscow has decisively and irrevocably backed Zavgayev and that not everybody understands that he has come to stay. In fact the number of such people is quite large. How objective is the appraisal of him as an authoritative and influential leader? Why not nominate, say, Khasbulatov?

[Zorin] I know that many public opinion polls indeed show a preference for two leaders if the Dudayev side is disregarded — Zavgayev and Khasbulatov. But Zavgayev has concrete experience to his credit. The people have already seen how he works, what he can do and what he cannot. The period when he governed the republic is associated with stability and peace. For instance, in a recent interview Zavgayev recalled that at that time, crime in Chechnya was the lowest in the USSR. To be sure, Khasbulatov also enjoys authority owing to his activity in Russian politics. Of course, the elections will decide everything.

[Vladimirov] The Dudayevites are bound to hamper the elections, stage provocations and acts of terrorism. How prepared are the government and federal authorities for this?

[Zorin] I should say that nobody today is capable of large-scale combat action. We are doomed to peace. Enough is being done to ensure security of the elections. With the advent of Zavgayev, local power agencies and the Internal Affairs Ministry of the Chechen Republic have stepped up their activities; security measures, disarmament controls, and measures to trace terrorist groups and bandit formations have been beefed up. The past week has seen a steady decrease in the number of shelling attacks, terrorist acts, and acts of banditry.

[Vladimirov] As deputy head of the Russian delegation at the negotiations in Groznyy, how do you assess the prospects for the resumption of the dialogue?

[Zorin] Further negotiations will proceed within the framework of the "roundtable" or a dialogue with all real forces in the republic. Today no politician represents the entire people of Chechnya.

Intimidation Could Dampen Election Turnout

MK0212143395 Moscow OBSHCHAYA GAZETA in Russian
No. 48, 30 Nov-6 Dec 95 (Signed to press 29 Nov 95) p 8

[Report by Nadezhda Chaykova from Groznyy under the "Situation" rubric: "Elections To Take Place in Chechnya, Even If There Are No Voters"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The Chechen Supreme Council is determined to hold elections for the State Duma and also to elect the head of the republic on 17 December.

In order to create a legal framework for these campaigns, laws on elections and on the head of the republic have been passed, a Central Electoral Commission set up, and candidates registered. Three people wish to head Chechnya at this troubled time — Doku Zavgayev, Ruslan Khasbulatov, and Movsar Aduyev, who has a reputation as a healer and magician. A total of eight people have expressed their wish to move from cold and dirty Chechnya to warm Moscow apartments. The best-known of them are Lecha Magomadov, chairman of the National Conciliation Committee, and Vladimir Zorin, first deputy chief of the territorial administration of the federal executive authorities in the Chechen Republic, who is running on the "Russia Is Our Home" movement's list. A considerable sum — three billion rubles — has been earmarked for the elections. Privately, however, there is talk of the 800 million rubles that were sent to Chechnya earlier, but which disappeared somewhere en route.

Last Saturday [25 November], Zavgayev held a meeting of heads of administration and representatives of all

Chechen districts. First, Doku Gapurovich [Zavgayev] spoke at length about the 95 percent of the population who are ready to turn out in the electoral wards in the early morning of 17 December; about his conversation with Boris Yeltsin, which instilled unprecedented optimism in him and surpassed all his expectations; and also about the whole Chechen people's untroubled life after the elections. After that Zavgayev switched to the Chechen language: "I still have no authority in the republic. Even the Russian president received me as his old acquaintance from joint work at Svetlovodsk, not as the head of government... Chechnya is a test range for Russian politicians, who pretend to be the defenders of our people, but in fact are doing it in. Let us hold elections so that "these" will go and our government will become legitimate and universally recognized," was how Zavgayev tried to convince the audience.

His speech was heard in silence, no objections were made, but participants whispered into each other's ear: "How can he humiliate himself so?" Regional representatives are clearly fearful of accepting responsibility for the preparation and conduct of the elections. "They are protected by tanks here in Groznyy, while we have the Dudayevites by our side, so great bloodshed is imminent," an administration staffer of Urus-Martan Rayon told me. On his way out of the hall, Zavgayev called on everybody to turn out for the elections, promised to give flour and coal to the badly-off free of charge, and asked them not to tell journalists anything bad about the situation in the republic. "Now is not the time for criticism; let the elections pass, then your criticism will be welcome," he permitted.

Nearly the whole Russian-speaking population is backing Zavgayev. People remember him as a fairly successful economic manager and associate his name with their calm life under Brezhnev. Chechen sympathies have split: About 25-30 percent are ready to put up with Zavgayev and Khasbulatov, while the rest trust them less or not more than Dudayev. This does not mean at all, however, that the loyal 25-30 percent will necessarily turn out to vote — the fear of earning the reputation of a traitor in the eyes of one's countrymen and being shot in the back of the head might well prevent them from leaving their homes on 17 December.

The Russians, too, are fearful of turning out for the elections. Larisa, who works at the territorial administration, told me that neither she nor her relatives are going to risk their lives for Zavgayev. "We did not survive the terrors of war to die so foolishly." This girl recounted the way signatures in support of Doku Gapurovich were collected. Larisa was asked to show her passport at the entrance to a government building the other day, its contents were written down, and then she was ordered to sign her name. She did as she was told, and only then did she notice that she had signed a petition in support of Zavgayev. "I think him to be the most acceptable candidate anyway, but why cheat on people?" the girl fumed.

The pro-Dudayev part of the Chechen population, which categorically rejects the idea of holding the December elections, are far from idealizing Dudayev and are not going to be ruled by him for the remainder of their lives. These Chechens would have gladly turned out for elections, had they been really democratic and fair, but no promises can cajole them into voting for candidates "sent from Moscow" in the presence of Russian troops.

Abdul Kerim Arsakhanov, chairman of the Central Electoral Commission, asserts that electoral wards have been set up in 12 of Chechnya's 20 rayons; only Achkhoy-Martan, Nadterechnyy, Gudermes, and Shali Rayons, as well as the town of Argun and the Oktyabrskiy and Staropromyslovyy Rayons of Groznyy, have none. Even if Mr. Arsakhanov can be taken at his word, however, it is plainly evident that the "refusenik" rayons account for the majority of the Chechen population. Nor should one forget that the Dudayevites promise to thwart elections in population centers that are technically controlled by federal forces.

The statement by Movladi Udugov, information and press minister in the Dudayev government, that special committees tasked with frustrating the elections have been set up in 95 percent of Chechen settlements are not just words. Even in Shali, which was "liberated" by federal forces back in March, scarcely anyone will turn out for the elections. The advocates of independence wave green banners and call on the people to boycott all electoral events at ongoing rallies in the center of town. Most local residents are not going to demonstrate their "active civic stance" anyway. The family of Malika, who is a Chechen, has had it rough under Dudayev, but they are not going to vote for Zavgayev or Khasbulatov all the same. "My heart simply isn't in it. We were bombed, while they were sitting in the safety of Moscow." Her husband, Ramza, is not pleased with the new authorities either: "I was mending the house after a bombardment, so these 'economic managers' gave me 150,000-rubles worth of roofing slate and glass, but registered it as 5 million rubles." Ramza led me to the house of a member of the Shali administration — there was a huge pile of bricks, roofing slate, cement, and glass in the courtyard. In some courtyards the bargaining was under way over cash payments. Ramza's neighbor, Usman, said: "As they stole under Dudayev, so they do now, even on a larger scale."

Nonetheless, to all appearances, the elections in Chechnya will take place, even if not a single resident of the republic turns out to vote. According to the Russian Central Electoral Commission's instruction, two military units permanently deployed on Chechen territory may take part in the vote. The electoral wards where they will be voting are closed and the number of privates and officers is kept secret. Russian servicemen are also expected to take place in the elections for the head of the republic. In order to deem the elections valid it is enough for 100,000 people to turn out. The quorum is not too great, so it will not be that difficult to reach the target at the expense of Russian servicemen. All the more so since no influx of international observers in expected in Chechnya.

P.S. On Monday, Internal Affairs Minister Anatoliy Kulikov and Nationalities Minister Vyacheslav Mikhaylov met with chiefs of the Russian mass media at the ITAR-TASS news agency. The ministers asked journalists to halt their search for those responsible for the Chechen tragedy for some time and to give Doku Zavgayev every assistance so that he will be elected head of the Chechen Republic. According to Kulikov and Mikhaylov, Moscow sees the success of Zavgayev's election campaign as the sole opportunity of breaking the "Chechen impasse."

North Ossetia, Krasnodar Sign Friendship Treaty

LD0312134695 Moscow Russian Television Network in Russian 1100 GMT 3 Dec 95

[Report over video by I. Tobolova in Vladikavkaz; from the ""Vesti" newscast]

[FBIS Translated Text] An event has taken place in North Ossetia-Alaniya, which is opening a new stage in its relations with the neighboring constituent parts of the Russian Federation. The treaty on friendship and cooperation with Krasnodar territory has been signed in the republic's capital Vladikavkaz. In their speeches at the signing ceremony, North Ossetia-Alaniya President Akhsarbek Galazov and Yevgeniy Kharitonov, head of administration of Krasnodar territory and leader of the official delegation, noted a common historical fate of the peoples of Ossetia and the Kuban and common objectives for the future, the main of which is to preserve peace and stability in the North Caucasus and in Russia. After signing the documents, the leaders exchanged souvenirs and Father Emmanuel, superior of the Ossetian Church of the Birth of the Virgin, gave his blessings to all those who will be implementing the treaty. The treaty has 13 articles that provide for economic and cultural cooperation in various fields. According to the participants in the event, the treaty can be used as a basis for the creation of a collective security system in North Caucasus. [video shows signing ceremony]

Shakhray, Orenburg's Yelagin Sign Power-Sharing Treaty

MK0212124295 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 1 Dec 95 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "Provincial Chronicle" rubric: "Orenburg"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Sergey Shakhray, deputy premier of the Russian Federation government, and Vladimir Yelagin, head of the oblast administration, initialed a treaty on delimiting the terms of reference and powers between the agencies of state authority of the Russian Federation and Orenburg Oblast. The five areas of joint responsibility include defense conversion, the elimination of nuclear testing effects, migration of foreign citizens, the revival of the cossacks, and the development of the agro-industrial sector.

Yakutia's Nikolayev Rejects Term Extension Referendum

MK0212124795 Moscow SEGODNYA in Russian 1 Dec 95 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "Provincial Chronicle" rubric: "Yakutsk"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Yakutia President Mikhail Nikolayev has rejected the idea of holding a referendum on extending his term of office until the year 2001, which was put forward by a number of workers' collectives. In his statement to the republic's citizens and parliament, Mr. Nikolayev expressed his gratitude for the initiative and urged the parliament to cancel the referendum. As the reason for this decision, the president cited a heightening of public, political, economic, and social tension in the Russian Federation.

Economic Issues

Dubinin's Appointment Boosts Chernomyrdin's Clout

MK0212084495 Moscow KOMMERSANT-DAILY in Russian 28 Nov 95 p 8

[Report by Roman Artemyev under the "What Is To Be Expected From the Authorities" rubric: "A New Appointment"]

[FBIS Translated Text] The results of the State Duma's vote on the Central Bank chairman were, without any doubt, the sensation of the past week. Only one deputy out of 347 present and voting voted against Sergey

Dubinin, whose candidacy was approved unanimously by members of the parliamentary Budget and Financial Committee a week before the vote. The election of a new full-blown chief of the Bank of Russia was the most important economic and political event not only of the past week. Paradoxically, it makes it possible to take a glimpse into the not so near future.

First of all, let us dot the i's. The State Duma vote marked a triumphant end to a nearly 1.5-year period during which the current Central Bank chairman was consistently moving closer to his post. This is the period of time insistently cited by informed sources from the premier's entourage, who have lifted somewhat the veil of secrecy over the way a person who some time ago had experienced Boris Yeltsin's anger, which was dexterously provoked and skillfully channeled by a court Kremlin faction after "Black Tuesday," emerged at the Central Bank. The struggle between these factions, which can broadly be described as pro- and anti-Chernomyrdin parties, is the key to understanding the events that led to Sergey Dubinin's "new appointment." The premier's powerful influence on the fate of the then first deputy finance minister of Russia first showed in February of last year: At the time, after the resignation of Boris Fedorov, deputy prime minister and finance minister of Russia, Dubinin was about to leave not just the Finance Ministry, but also the civil service in general, and to resume his academic career, not necessarily relating to budgets. Precisely at that time he had a conversation with Viktor Chernomyrdin, during which the premier outlined to the deputy minister his vision of his future. Had it not been for such a manifest backing, Dubinin, who is prone to doubts (which for the most part simply stand in the way of one's apparatus career) by virtue of his academic past, would have possibly heeded Boris Fedorov's advice not to become an acting minister and would have left his office on Ilinka in a different way. But on that occasion he uttered a phrase that astonished his predecessor: "No, I want to try my luck. Maybe, I will be able to cope with it."

It is hard to say unequivocally whether his lengthy stint as acting minister and a public rebuke by the head of state (you can tell anyone but the president "there is no money") prove the fact that Dubinin's administrative career was a failure at that stage. To all appearances, he was downtrodden by the "conservative" tide that was rising last summer, a tide that in fact reflected a purely apparatus, not ideological standoff in the top echelon of power. It was then that an influential coalition, which included, among others, Security Council Secretary Oleg Lobov and Presidential Security Service [SBP] Chief Aleksandr Korzhakov, was formed to oppose the premier, who was riding the crest of his might at the time. Judging by indirect evidence, Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Davydov was also leaning toward this coalition. It is anyone's guess if the premier would have survived "Black Tuesday" had the coup plotters fully trusted each other and managed to reach agreement on Chernomyrdin's successor. Aleksandr Korzhakov would like to see Deputy Prime Minister Oleg Soskovets take up this post. Lobov, to all appearances, had himself in mind. Be that as it may, a powerful blow was dealt to the Chernomyrdin entourage: Deputy Prime Minister and Economy Minister Aleksandr Shokhin and acting Finance Minister Sergey Dubinin, who had proven themselves to be "Chernomyrdin men," left the government. Upon Vladimir Panskov's arrival at the Finance Ministry from the president's budget and financial administration, it seemed that the premier's positions in terms of supervising the financial sector were weakened. Yet this is how it actually was at the moment.

There are two viewpoints regarding Dubinin's move to the "Imperial" bank, closely connected to Gazprom, after his resignation. According to the first view, this was an impromptu step of sorts that was initiated by the premier so as to keep his protege within his sphere of influence and also to instill an undiminished sense of gratitude in him. According to the other theory, the move to "Imperial" was programmed back in summer 1994, when it became fully clear to Chernomyrdin that Dubinin's chances of becoming minister had plummeted, while Central Bank Chairman Viktor Gerashchenko, who followed in his apparatus strategy the example of "the cat who walked by herself," had found himself on shaky ground. According to an influential member of the premier's entourage, who — for understandable reasons — asked not to be identified, it is then that a secret decision was made "to start grooming Dubinin for the post of Central Bank chairman." In this case a move to the bank was an element of the strategy aimed at preparing a new career ascent. According to an eyewitness, while being technically in charge of servicing Gazprom at "Imperial," Dubinin was not overburdened too much with the accounting routine, because operations concerning the bank's chief customer had been perfected to the minutest detail. Neither the post of deputy chairman of the bank's board nor, later, his membership on the Board of Directors of the Gazprom Russian Joint-Stock Company, actually demanded from Dubinin bending over backwards as specialist, but they enabled him to add the experience of practical financial management in both the banking and non-banking sectors to his diversified theoretical knowledge about Russian and foreign finance. The only question is whether Dubinin himself was aware of the actual purpose for which it was all done.

Meanwhile, painstaking work was under way to create the prerequisites for Dubinin's return to the state bureaucracy. Judging from assertions by one of the most knowledgeable State Duma deputies in this regard, who deals closely with the presidential staff, back at the very beginning of the year it became clear to the premier that acting Central Bank chairman Tatyana Paramonova lacked the crucial quality as manageability and that she recognized only two authorities — Viktor Gerashchenko with regard to day-to-day matters, and Boris Yeltsin in the general apparatus sense. For this very reason a stance of benign neglect was adopted regarding her candidacy's confirmation: Upon her introduction to the Duma, she was left virtually alone to face an increasingly hostile audience. It was hostile for two reasons: First, because of her consistently austere financial policy, which was approved in the law on the 1995 budget; and second, because of her conflict with the commercial banks, which was coming to a head. Neither the premier nor the Kremlin gave Paramonova's candidacy active backing. Meanwhile, the most influential commercial banks, careful not to overspend, were gradually eroding what little support she initially had among Duma deputies. During a conversation with a member of the State Duma's Budget and Finance Committee, even the following confession was made: The banks that did their utmost over the past three weeks to push Dubinin's candidacy through the Duma played the key role last fall in making sure that Paramonova would fall short (which she did by just a few votes) of being elected Central Bank chairman in the very first vote on her as the president's nominee. This assertion remains unconfirmed, though.

The presidential staff's inaction can be explained if one recalls that its administration responsible for ties with the Federal Assembly is headed by Andrey Loginov, who has had close ties with Viktor Ilyushin, first presidential adviser, since their joint work in Afghanistan. Thanks to Ilyushin, in a move rare in apparatus practice a provision was included in the statute on Loginov's administration whereby its work is to be supervised directly by presidential aide Georgiy Satarov, who is Ilyushin's man, over chief of staff Sergey Filatov's head. Ilyushin's key role in Dubinin's appointment leaves no doubts whatsoever. Without his authorization presidential economic adviser Aleksandr Livshits would not have included Dubinin on the list of possible candidates for the post of Central Bank chairman. By certain accounts, at the end of spring and the beginning of summer, when Yeltsin asked Livshits' opinion of candidates to head the Bank of Russia, he named none other than Sergey Dubinin, thus eliciting a harsh response from the president. Had the presidential aide not sensed Ilyushin's backing, such a move would have been reckless on Livshits' part. The gradual change in Boris Yeltsin's attitude to Dubinin would have been simply impossible without his first adviser's active prodding.

Ilyushin's rapprochement with Chernomyrdin is largely attributable to the existence of common apparatus enemies. The very existence of the well-known Korzhakov-Soskovets axis (largely thanks to which the first deputy prime minister has come to be received by the president nearly more often than the premier) was set to push these two people, who have equally strained relations with the presidential security service head, closer to each other. Knowing the potential of both of them, it is impossible to say at this stage which of them precisely suggested the idea of recommending two Central Bank candidates, instead of one, to the president, who was in turn to recommend one of them to the State Duma at his own discretion. Moreover, according to the rules of the game, a victory could only be achieved if the second candidate were viewed as a clear front-runner right before the meeting with the president. Otherwise, the Korzhakov-Soskovets tandem could have thwarted a combination that had been prepared so carefully for so long.

If this is so, Yakov Dubenetskiy brilliantly played the part assigned to him. To all appearances, he sincerely believed that he could really become the country's first banker — even though, as a White House staffer who has not yet lost his market romanticism put it, "we taught him to pronounce the word 'depositary' just a year ago." By some accounts, Dubenetskiy even had an audience with Oleg Soskovets. Since his name was on everyone's lips up to the premier's historic meeting with the president on 6 November, one can conclude that the chairman of Promstroybank's board managed to assure Soskovets of his loyalty.

Yet more proof of the calculated nature of the moves in this risky game is the fact that in the past Yakov Dubenetskiy worked within the system of what is presently called Gazprom. It is quite possible that precisely this imaginary link to the gas giant was passed off to the president as one of Dubenetskiy's most vulnerable spots as a possible candidate for an economic post that is second only to that of the premier's in Russia. Presumably, this very page in Dubenetskiy's background would have caused a barrage of fierce criticism had his candidacy come to the State Duma's attention.

Sergey Dubinin, on the contrary, cleared the parliamentary hurdle without much of a pause and, it seems to an outside observer, virtually without having to exert himself. "I wish he did!" a member of an influential

Duma faction, who has close connections with financial-industrial circles, exclaimed involuntarily. In his words, Dubinin's election cost "a fabulous sum of money: Not only will we have the world's most expensive parliament after 17 December, but also the world's most expensive Central Bank chairman." Let us leave this assertion on his conscience and note that according to everyone who has had even an indirect bearing on this event, the pro-Dubinin lobby at the Duma clearly targeted factions, not individual deputies in its campaign. It is financial interests that made all the difference in the end: The interests of those who need campaign funds for parliamentary and, possibly, presidential elections, and the interests of those who need money as a sort of exit benefit. It turned out that finances can do nearly everything in politics, which for this reason becomes much more manageable and predictable than seemed earlier.

What other conclusions can be drawn after that? First of all, the conclusion that the current prime minister appears to be by far the most powerful head of the Russian Government compared to all those who have held this post since 1985. Moreover, thanks to the effective support of influential financial-industrial circles he has built a solid support base not just as a virtuoso staff politician, but also as a public figure. Furthermore, the backing by leaders of Russian business ensures not only considerable financial capabilities and extensive political connections, but also an intellectual base, the importance of which in the increasingly sophisticated political struggle is growing faster than any other factor of success.

This suggests yet another conclusion: At present the financial-industrial group that supports Viktor Chernomyrdin is the strongest one among all similar groups in Russia. This influence will become even stronger upon establishing control over the Central Bank, whose importance as a regulating agency over the next few months will boil down for most banks to a simple question: Will it give money or won't it? Thanks to such formidable support, Sergey Dubinin can be assured of his professional future. Provided he forms a clear understanding of his role, he will not be allowed to take a false step or to make mistakes similar to those Tatyana Paramonova made. According to bankers who know Sergey Dubinin well, he has "the qualities that are so rare nowadays, namely, a developed sense of gratitude and a lack of penchant for gambling on his own." For this reason one can suggest that the new Central Bank chairman will retain his post at least during the four years assigned to him by law. All the more so because, as Boris Fedorov admitted, "while drafting the law on the Central Bank we tried to make sure that the procedure for firing the bank chairman would be as difficult as possible."

Given that, the future of those who have hitherto been the Central Bank's most influential people — Viktor Gerashchenko, Tatyana Paramonova, and her first deputy Aleksandr Khandruyev — is far less certain. The fate of the last will be decided exclusively by whether he has had time to make mortal enemies among those who brought Dubinin to power at the Central Bank. The future of the first two persons will evidently be decided during talks between Dubinin and Co., on the one hand, and Viktor Gerashchenko, who still retains influence at the bank, on the other. Winning his loyalty would be a big victory for Dubinin.

Come what may, even taking account of Viktor Chernomyrdin's slim chances of staying on as prime minister after 17 December, it should be admitted that his in-depth defenses (coupled with the clear backing of international finance organizations) will help him retain his clout as one of the national economy's most influential leaders even after his formal resignation — so influential that he can be tipped as a potential candidate in the future presidential elections. However, what circles close to the prime minister see as the most likely scenario is a deal under which the influence of his financial-industrial group would become the "Golden Fleece" that would help him ensure a premiership. Still, there is a different school of thought asserting that the premier will enjoy such formidable backing only as long as he is head of the cabinet; that notwithstanding, when asked whether he would venture to place his bets on Chernomyrdin in the long run, a representative of the country's financial elite responded instantly: "Yes!"

Yeltsin Economic Aide Predicts Low Inflation in Dec

LD0112184495 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1644 GMT 1 Dec 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Aleksandr Livshits, the president's economic aide, expects inflation to run low in December, possibly below 4 percent.

Inflation may rise in January and February but "we will make our preparations for this," he said.

Livshits said that the war of banks in Russia troubles him. "I feel that this is a common case of competition. Every rival has visited both the Kremlin and parliament pleading his case," Livshits said at a briefing in the Kremlin Thursday in reference to a debate over the rules for a shares-for-loans collateral auction for oil giant YUKOS government shares.

In his words, the war of the banks is aggravated by the loopholes in the procedure of auctions with state assets acting as security. Livshits also believes that the tight financial policy pursued by the government, in particular, the shortage of cash, also contribute to the strife between banks.

Livshits said he had sent a letter to acting State Property Committee chairman Albert Kokh suggesting that the mechanics of such auctions should be streamlined and encourage honesty.

Livshits believes that early next year steps should be taken to make the presidential decree, signed Thursday, less tough on natural monopolists, who are unable to collect the payments due them.

According to Livshits, extending the existing currency peg could result in reaching its ceiling pretty soon and trigger an outflow of currency reserves from the country or a higher rate of ruble inflation.

In his view, the decree on export duties will enable the exporting industries to change the export structure. Livshits believes that these changes are already underway in metallurgy.

Livshits Interviewed on Ruble Exchange, Yeltsin

LD0312213595

[FBIS Editorial Report] Moscow NTV in Russian at 1635 GMT on 30 November broadcasts the 25-minute "Hero of the Day" program presented by Yevgeniy Kiselev. Russian presidential economic adviser Aleksandr Livshits is the studio guest.

Kiselev begins by noting that the meeting between President Boris Yeltsin and his financial advisers and ministers on 30 November, which decided to extend the ruble exchange corridor until 1 July, had been partially opened to the media. He asks whether this was because of the forthcoming elections. Livshits replies: "No, what have the elections to do with it? These meetings always used to be closed and what went on would be announced straightaway afterwards. But everything went smoothly at this meeting, after which the president thanked everyone and said in particular, why is this not filmed, why should we be in an unclear position. And people came and filmed us, that was all." Kiselev then asks why Livshits appeared surprised at the suggestion that this display of confidence in the economy by the current authorities was connected to the elections. Livshits answers: "You see the demonstration of confidence is not necessarily related to the elections."

Kiselev goes on to say that opinion polls are predicting possible failure for Prime Minister Chernomyrdin's Russia is Our Home and asks whether this would have an effect on the president's economic policy. Livshits replies: "I would not begin to predict this failure. As for the president, his position is, as usual, set out in a message for the year, and as far as I know it has not changed. What might change after the elections regarding the corridor is, at any rate, very complicated. The thing is that the bank has signed as well and the bank is not being changed, not being elected." He goes on to say that the increased upper exchange limit for the ruble against the dollar would have little effect on an individual's pocket. He adds that the August banking crisis can not simply be ascribed to the existence of the exchange corridor, as it was caused by many factors.

Asked whether the parameters of the ruble's exchange rate against the dollar really reflected the respective currencies' purchasing powers, Livshits states: "What have these purchasing powers got to do with it, it is the market rate, it is the market."

Boris Fedorov, former finance minister and leader of Forward Russia, is then shown speaking in an office: "I was always against the hard currency corridor because it was introduced in order to stop inflation. It is clear today that this has not worked and the rate of price increases is continuing to grow. It is perfectly clear that it is impossible to reduce inflation in our country with the help of a hard currency corridor or a fixed exchange rate as we are not Israel or Hungary or Poland, and foreign trade is a very significant part of our economy. It is perfectly clear that the result of all that has happened, all that is happening, is Tokyo or New York prices and Russian wages. It is holding back domestic exports and encouraging imports from abroad.

"The fact that the limits of the hard currency corridor are being changed today is evidence that it is not working, that the exchange rate is being artificially supported. I think that it is a purely political action. Of course, many people have made money on this and will make money, but there will come a time when we have to pay, and as usual it will be ordinary people who pay."

Livshits then responds: "I do not know where to begin my reply. Prices are going up all the same. The thing is that they are not going up. Prices are not going up."

Kiselev then presents a resume of Livshits's career, saying that he, Georgiy Satarov, and Leonid Baturin were "part of the liberal group in the president's close entourage." Livshits responds: "There are no liberals or any other groupings there." Asked whether this means that all the president's entourage have the same views, Livshits replies: "Practically, among the advisers' service, yes."

Livshits then declines to say whether he had had poor relations with Yeltsin a year ago, saying that he had already commented several times on this issue. Asked whether the 30 November meeting with Yeltsin had been his first since the president fell ill, Livshits says that he had also met him five days ago.

Asked about the law giving preferential tax terms to the mass media signed by Yeltsin on 30 November, Livshits states: "I will say that there was a struggle, quite a fierce struggle. Not everyone in the administration was in favor of that law. It is a decision that should have been taken at the very beginning of 1992."

Minister Seeks End to Russia's Economic Isolation

LD0112191595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1819 GMT 1 Dec 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MOSCOW, Dec 1 (INTERFAX) — Russia "stands in isolation" from the economic processes in Asia and Pacific, and this aloofness should be done away with, Deputy Foreign Economic Ties Minister Georgiy Gabuniya declared at a conference of Russia's National Committee for Pacific Economic Cooperation in Moscow on Friday.

Such a situation "may adversely affect Russia since it will be unable to take an active part in the international division of labour," Gabuniya said, calling for more Russian presence in Asia and Pacific, which he described as "the most dynamic region in the world."

Gabuniya reported that Russia had a positive balance of trade with Asian and Pacific countries, standing at $4.7 billion in Russia's favor. However, he regretted that Russia had so far been outside the integration process, gaining momentum in the Asian and Pacific region.

This least of all means a threat of economic isolation for Russia. But if Russia stays out, "it will most likely find itself in an unfavorable trade and economic situation in the region, Gabuniya emphasized.

In addition, the cooperation with the Asian-Pacific region would promote the economic and social development of Russian regions. "The federal program of long-term development of the Far East is to play an important role in this aspect," said Gabuniya.

He said that Moscow is mostly interested in the development of foreign economic relations of the Far East, which is Russia's gateway to the Asian-Pacific region and is considered the most important Russian region from the point of view of economic prospects.

He stressed that Russia's economic cooperation with regional countries "is heavily impaired by the poor infrastructure in the transportation, energy, financial, and information spheres." At the same time, Gabuniya voiced hope that Russian industrial and commercial structures will be able to eliminate the "bottlenecks".

He then noted that Russia was interested above all in the export opportunities that this region offered. For this reason, he stressed the need for using the debt commitments of some regional countries to Russia for their conversion to Russian investments in the economies of these states. "Many Asian and Pacific countries are potential areas for such activity," Gabuniya remarked.

He also pointed out the fact that "many Asian-Pacific countries are more preferable as investors in the Russian economy than western countries."

Gabuniya said that it is necessary to develop Russia's main potential — cooperation in the area of high technologies, including those available due to the defense industry conversion. "However, little progress has been achieved in this area so far," he said.

He believes that Russia can join integration processes within the Asian-Pacific region, in particular through its participation in the work of regional institutions.

Gabuniya gave to understand that Moscow expects to enter the Asian-Pacific Economic Cooperation forum in 1996, when the moratorium on the admission of new members to this intergovernmental institution expires. He recalled that Russia submitted its application for joining the APEC last March.

He stressed that cooperation between Russia and the Asian-Pacific region requires a serious analysis. "Perhaps, we still have no answers as to how we must participate in the free-trade area formed with the region, how quickly we will be able to open our markets and what advantages we will get as a result," stressed Gabuniya.

Aviation Industry Gets 'Boost' in Funding

MM0112164095 Moscow FINANSOVYYE IZVESTIYA in Russian 1 Dec 95 p 1

[Report by Petr Yevseyev: "Aviation Industry Receives Additional State Funding" — received via Internet]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russia's aviation industry has received additional funding of 190 billion rubles [R], according to Anatoliy Bratukhin, deputy chairman of the State Committee for the Defense Sectors of Industry, speaking at a news conference on "The Development of Civil Aviation in Russia" held in Moscow last week. R40 billion of this government money have already been transferred and a further R90 billion are being made ready for transfer.

The extra funds will be a considerable boost to the aviation industry, whose needs were assessed at just R425 billion in the 1995 budget. The producers themselves have requested R820 billion for the implementation of the federal aviation development program this year.

The aviation industry is pinning its hopes of further funding on the elevation of the federal program to "presidential" status. According to Anatoliy Bratukhin, Boris Yeltsin examined this question 11 November and issued a directive to draw up the necessary documents.

The chiefs of the leading design bureaus, the air transport department, and the interstate aviation committee who were attending the conference also spoke about progress in the certification of Russian aviation equipment abroad.

The certification of the Ka-32 helicopter according to the U.S. standard was completed in Montreal this week. The Yak-42-100 aircraft is completing the certification procedure in Italy. The U.S. certification of the transport version of the Il-96 fitted with Pratt and Whitney engines is scheduled for September next year and the passenger version will receive its certificate in the United States in mid-1997.

According to Viktor Livanov, general director of the Ilyushin Aviation Complex, the successful certification of another Russian aircraft in America — the Il-103 — will make it possible to reach a fundamentally important agreement on the reciprocal recognition of Russian and U.S. certificates.

International Affairs

Kuchma: Joining European Union 'Strategic Objective'

LD0112131495 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1247 GMT 1 Dec 95

[By Mikhail Melnik]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] KIEV, December 1 (Itar-Tass) — It is very important for Ukraine today to establish mutual understanding with the European Union, Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma believes. It is a priority direction in Ukraine's foreign policy, he said today at a meeting with ambassadors of the G7 and European Union member states.

At the same time, he stressed that he was a realist and knew the potential of his country. In his opinion, Ukraine's economy does not permit it so far to join the European Union, and its prospects are not very optimistic either. However, the joining of that international organization is a strategic objective of Ukraine, and it will become a member of the European Union by all means, Kuchma said.

Kuchma Meets With EU, G-7 Nations' Ambassadors

LD0112183795 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1611 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, December 1 (Interfax - Ukraine) — The Memorandum on the problems of the Chernobyl NPP shut-down, on which agreement was reached between Ukraine and G-7 countries in Vienna on November 30, was discussed at a meeting of Ukrainian President Kuchma with the ambassadors of the countries of the European Community and G-7.

Speaking in an "IF-U" interview, Spanish Ambassador to Ukraine Eduardo Junco, who attended the meeting, said that "the European Community will support all efforts by Ukraine for the closure of the Chernobyl NPP".

President Kuchma noted that "the state of economic development and prospects for the near future do not give ground so far to raise unequivocally the question of Ukraine's accession to the European Community" and said that the European Community is an "important part of our strategy, a dream, for which we shall and will by all means strive and an important trend in our foreign policy".

The agreement on cooperation between Ukraine and the European Community was signed in spring 1994. By now, the agreement, which is to come into force after its ratification by parliaments of all the member-countries of the European Community, has been ratified by the Parliaments of Britain, Spain and Denmark. An interim agreement on cooperation between Ukraine and the European Community was signed on June 1 this year.

Moroz Criticizes NATO's Role in Ex-Yugoslavia

LD0112204195 Belgrade TANJUG in English 1816 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Kiev, Dec. 1 (TANJUG) - President of the Ukrainian Supreme Soviet Oleksandr Moroz has criticized NATO for its actions in former Yugoslavia, the Kiev paper VSEUKRAINSKIYE VEDOMOSTI said on Friday.

Moroz said the Western military alliance "openly violates U.N. principles and those of the Helsinki agreement in former Yugoslavia."

Ukraine should take a careful stand regarding military cooperation with those in Europe who "use force," Moroz was quoted as saying.

Ukraine's military doctrine, which is officially based on the country's extra-bloc status, should be re-examined under the new circumstances, Moroz said.

The Ukrainian parliament leader said it should be assessed if the country could successfully protect its people if it retained its extra-bloc status.

Official Kiev has so far emphasized it had an equal stand toward all warring sides in former Yugoslavia and that it would continue to practice such an approach.

Shmarov on Balkan Operation, Sochi Talks

WS0112155395 Kiev VSEUKRAINSKIYE VEDOMOSTI in Russian 28 Nov 95 pp 1,3

["Exclusive" interview with Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov by Natalya Kondratyuk; place and date not given: "Valeriy Shmarov: 'We Made No Unilateral Concessions in Sochi'" — first paragraph is VSEUKRAINSKIYE VEDOMOSTI introduction]

[FBIS Translated Text] An expanded meeting of the Ukrainian and Russian Defense Ministries was held in Sochi on 24-25 November. As a result of the talks, 19 documents were signed. Ukrainian Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov has agreed to comment on details and nuances of the reached agreements for VSEUKRAINSKIYE VEDOMOSTI.

[Kondratyuk] Valeriy Mykolayovych, what made this meeting possible at all? After all, not a single similar expanded meeting of the Russian and Ukrainian military departments has been held over the past four years.

[Shmarov] We have concluded cooperation agreements with military departments of 29 world states, including China and the United States. The following quite logical question arises: "Why did we not do this with Russia?" To be honest, this looks somewhat inappropriate. There are problems we can resolve thoroughly, despite the specific nature of our relations. So why should we not do that? As it is, all unresolved problems are accumulating. Who benefits from this? We and Russia have the same weapons. They must be maintained in combat readiness, and we thus should use available repair and production capacities and spare parts. Although, unfortunately, our balance is not positive, we should somehow profit from this. We must search for forms of cooperation as soon as possible, because delays may result in a loss of our troops' combat readiness, as far as the technical aspect is involved. There are a number of other arguments as well. Why should we do this now? Perhaps the sides were not ready for this earlier. I think this became possible owing to the arrangements provided by Leonid Kuchma and Boris Yeltsin for cooperation and search for methods of resolving the accumulating problems. So, Russia has become our 30th partner.

[Kondratyuk] It is our 30th partner as far as numbers go, but which one in the system of our interests and priorities?

[Shmarov] It is one of our first partners, particularly in terms of the scope of relations. Our cooperation with Austria, for example, with which we recently signed an appropriate agreement, is one thing. You understand that this relationship is basically of a political nature — yet another partner in yet another friendly country. I would say that these are simply good unbinding relations between military departments, aimed at exchanging information and experience and, naturally, strengthening the friendship between the states.

As for the cooperation with the Russian Defense Ministry, it is based on purely practical interests. I want to emphasize that the talk is only about bilateral cooperation. This is a principle, which entirely corresponds to the policy of both Ukraine and Russia. We do not talk about anyone's membership in systems of collective security either in the CIS or Europe. With Russia we talk about bilateral partnership, both within the framework of the NATO's "Partnership for Peace" program and with regard to possible joint actions of our peacekeeping forces aimed at settling the Bosnian crisis. This principle is based on political decisions by our presidents.

"We Do Not Want Strict Subordination to NATO Command"

[Kondratyuk] In Sochi, you held negotiations on the participation of Ukrainian and Russian peacekeeping forces in NATO's peacekeeping operations in Bosnia exclusively within the UN mandate. What exactly did you have in mind?

[Shmarov] We and Russia unequivocally expressed our wish to participate in peacekeeping actions. At the same time, however, both sides searched for forms of cooperation that would make it possible for us to avoid strict subordination to NATO command. And we found such forms. Ukraine has recently suggested that it should be subordinated to France. This country is not a NATO member, and we are currently operating in the French sector. We would be pleased if this issue was resolved positively. I think one does not have to explain the importance of the participation in peacekeeping operation for Ukraine. This means international prestige and the possibility of influencing the political situation in Europe and controlling the process of resolving this conflict, which is taking place not so far from Ukraine's borders.

[Kondratyuk] Where will money for the participation of the Ukrainian battalion come from? Previously, it was the United Nations that assumed the responsibility for all expenditures. The NATO operation is different, because the participants themselves should pay for the maintenance of their peacekeeping forces.

[Shmarov] This issue has not yet been resolved. We are conducting negotiations with different countries, including the United States, to find possibilities of financing, possibly through the "Partnership for Peace" program. It has not been ruled out that this will be not a full but reduced Ukrainian battalion or even company, to reduce the expenses. We are offering the participation of our air force group comprising 10 transport planes on a self-financing basis in the structure of peacekeeping forces. This will make it possible to compensate for our expenses. As for the Russian and Ukrainian battalions, we agreed that even if they are deployed in different regions, they will cooperate and render each other material-technical assistance.

[Kondratyuk] What are the similarities between the Ukrainian and Russian positions on the issue of NATO's eastward expansion?

[Shmarov] Russia currently categorically opposes NATO's eastward expansion. I personally believe that it is quite premature to step up this process: It is impossible to hastily draw the systems closer together. I think this could disturb the current balance. We must wait. As for the cooperation within various NATO programs, it is available for all those who want to cooperate. According to [Russian Defense] Minister Grachev, Russia wants to cooperate with NATO, and so do we, though without strict and direct subordination to the alliance.

"Our Units Should Not Come to Ruins"

[Kondratyuk] Let us return to the talks in Sochi. Russia is currently addressing the issue of lifting its flank restrictions in the North Caucasian military district. What is Ukraine proposing?

[Shmarov] The Northern Caucasus is a complex political tangle comprising Chechnya and the Georgian-Abkhazian and Armenian-Azerbaijani relations.... Russia thus addressed the issue of lifting the flank restrictions in the North Caucasian district. In this regard, we simultaneously raised the issue of lifting the restrictions in the Odessa military district. Nonetheless, Ukraine has fulfilled all its commitments stemming from the Conventional Forces in Europe Treaty. Although negotiations were held in Vienna, the issue of flank restrictions has not yet been resolved. As for the Black Sea Fleet ground units, Pavel Grachev unequivocally confirmed that once the fleet is divided Russia will withdraw its part from the Crimean peninsula. Technical preparations have already been carried out. Nevertheless, we drafted regulations for handing over facilities of the Black Sea Fleet infrastructure. The talk is about such settlements as Myrnyy. Deadlines will be defined, and if everything is ready for transfer, one unit will arrive, and following this other units will withdraw, but not the opposite. Our units should not come to ruins abandoned according to the principle "anything can happen after we are gone."

[Kondratyuk] Experts held talks on Russia's payments covering the expenditures for the operation of Ukrainian radar facilities, in particular the Shypkinsk missile attack warning station. How will these systems be used after the negotiations, and who will pay for their maintenance?

[Shmarov] We talk here about chronic nonpayments. The 1992 treaty envisioned that Russia should compensate for 50 percent of the expenditures for the operation of radar facilities. We are currently addressing the issue of compensating for the expenses in full, minimizing the stations' modes of operation. Very long-range surveillance systems per se are an anachronism of the Cold War. At that time we monitored where airplanes flew day and night — from England to Spain, or somewhere in Africa, from Egypt to Tunis. We do not need this now. We will not use these stations in our interests. We have a different military doctrine, and Russia can draw up moderate working schedules for them and pay according to the expenditures for their operation. The Russian side met this position presented by us with understanding, and we signed a relevant protocol.

Ukrainian Bombers Will Fly in Russia

[Kondratyuk] Additionally, there is an agreement on selling 10 TU-160 and 15 TU-95MS bombers to Russia. Did experts manage to finally fix a price for them that would meet the interests of both sides?

[Shmarov] Bombers of this class are actually unique. Who will fly them for a 10,000-kilometer range, however? We, who handed over nuclear aircraft of this class as early as in 1991 according to the START-1 treaty? Where could we fly? These unique bombers are aging and losing their technical capacities, and buyers are not lining up. Only Russia wanted to purchase them. A British museum wanted to buy one plane as an exhibit. The British, however, did not accept the price. Moreover, we are facing the following alternative: Either only this unit or our entire air force will fly. Strategic bombers burn huge amounts of fuel. We thus had to do something, so that this unique equipment did not meet the fate of the "Varyah" cruiser. We signed a document according to which experts will estimate the value of the bombers, though payments will be conducted not in cash, but in spare parts which our air force currently needs very much, including engines we simply lack, rubber, undercarriages, weapons, launchers, and a number of other things we currently do not produce. Everybody understands that the Russian Defense Ministry has no cash. So we found this method, to avoid signing another declaration.

[Kondratyuk] Also discussed at the talks was the sale of SS- 19's. Are we not thus violating our international commitments?

[Shmarov] I should clarify that the talk is about the sale of SS-19 booster rockets. Having the commitments stemming from the nuclear disarmament program, we naturally should think about what we will do with the equipment and infrastructure of our strategic missile forces. The most simple thing is to destroy everything and smelt it into metal, spending much effort and money on this, and then proudly report that we have fulfilled the treaty. However, we are trying to search for more reasonable approaches. After all, not without purpose a year ago Ukraine presented to the United States a proposal to use the missile carriers in conversion programs. There are currently large space programs in the world, in which these systems may be used. So, these ideas have been maturing for a long time now in our country. Russia is participating in these programs. We will thus try to explain our position to the world community if they want to listen to us. Why should Ukraine not try to earn if it is possible, instead of suffering losses? Similar exchanges among START treaty depositaries [as published] have already taken place and showed that the world takes this calmly.

[Kondratyuk] Valeriy Mykolayovych, during the negotiations in Sochi a number of documents were signed. Did Ukraine make any unilateral concessions to achieve this result?

[Shmarov] No. Before the talks Pavel Grachev and I consulted with our state leaders and governments. We developed principles of constructiveness and mutual understanding, and even mutual pliancy if needed. This pliancy was indeed mutual, and we adhered to this. I did not notice anybody displaying their strength or weakness. Both sides were looking for methods of resolving the accumulated problems.

TASS Outlines Kuchma Visit to PRC

LD0412080895 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 0757 GMT 4 Dec 95

[By Marat Abulkhatin]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] BEIJING December 4 (Itar-Tass) - The expansion of trade and economic contacts with China and the discussion of military-technical cooperation matters will be among central items on the agenda of talks during a current State visit here by President Leonid Kuchma of Ukraine. The visit began on Monday.

Local analysts believe that Kiev is highly interested in stronger economic contacts with China, regarding it as one of major trading partners. Main attention is expected to be devoted to the discussion of problems concerning the balancing of bilateral trade.

According to existing data, trade turnover between the two countries ran at over 900 million dollars in 1994, with Ukrainian export to China amounting to more than 800 million dollars. Expert estimate is that this is connected with Kiev's shortage of funds to purchase Chinese products.

A Joint Declaration on the development and deepening of friendship and cooperation between China and Ukraine as well as a number of bilateral agreements, the one on cooperation in space research, in particular, are expected to be signed as a result of talks which began on Monday. In addition, the two sides are to sign an Inter-State Convention on the Prevention of Double Taxation.

While in China, Leonid Kuchma will make a speech in the Diplomatic Academy of China, meet with representatives of the Chinese business community, and tour Shandong and Hainan provinces.

National Affairs

Moroz on Relations With Government, Kuchma

AU0212170195 Kiev HOLOS UKRAYINY in Ukrainian 1 Dec 95 pp 1, 2

[Interview with Supreme Council Chairman Oleksandr Moroz by INTERFAX-UKRAYINA correspondent Vasyl Yurychko; place and date not given: "A Priority: 'A Democratic State That Guarantees Strong Social Protection for Every Citizen'"]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Yurychko] Oleksandr Oleksandrovych, there are many problems in our society. Yet, what priority would you single out?

[Moroz] Right, there are very many problems. They overlap one another. They adversely affect the fate of every individual person. You are right, a comprehensive approach is needed. However, there must be some general, so to speak, initial point.

Consolidation of our society may become such a point. However, all structures of power must work to achieve this goal.

[Yurychko] As far as I am concerned, the very formulation of this concept is becoming one of the most complicated tasks for Ukrainian authorities.

[Moroz] It seems to me that a state that guarantees strong social protection for honest people could become such a consolidating idea....

[Yurychko] Well, you mean returning to the situation that prevailed some 10 years ago?

[Moroz] Not returning, but proceeding forward. We need a modern civilized state where strong socialist and social democratic principles would prevail. Like, for example, in Sweden or in Austria. I regard Ukraine's admission to the Council of Europe as a timely step on this road. I am not speaking here of specific features of our society or of its difference from other world states. Certainly, I fully endorse principles of democracy, human rights, and guaranteed protection for every honest person in society.

[Yurychko] Do you mean to say that masses have not sufficiently assimilated these principles?

[Moroz] Unfortunately, I have to state that Ukrainian society today does not have a common integrating ideal. At best, one can only say that some people support, for example, the revival of the Ukrainian language. There are not so few adherents of a return to the former [Soviet] Union.

[Yurychko] Do you believe that this has a serious effect on society?

[Moroz] Undoubtedly. This is one of the factors that make our development ambivalent, at least in the eyes of some citizens. They deprive people of confidence in tomorrow. However, I want to emphasize that during my recent meetings with people I also sensed other moods. People already start realizing that it is not worth relying upon the state's charity, but that they must take control of the situation. In my opinion, such moods are symptomatic and very promising.

[Yurychko] The press must help disseminate this concept?

[Moroz] Not a bad idea. However, I believe that the entire state administration must take into account this new turn in people's thinking and create conditions for implementing this interest. I am absolutely positive that this topic must be present in political speeches of the Ukrainian president, in documents of the parliament, and in programs of the government and must become a part of the phraseology of leaders and deputies in the provinces.

[Yurychko] Can the new Ukrainian constitution promote the concept of consolidation of our society?

[Moroz] Undoubtedly, the new constitution will contribute to stability in society. It is also necessary to react normally to heated discussions around a particular clause of the document. It is a different matter that all actions of government branches must be based upon law and upon their responsibility before society.

[Yurychko] In this connection, aren't you concerned about the idea of putting the draft of the country's Main Law to the vote at a referendum at the initiative of one branch of power?

[Moroz] I think that the Ukrainian parliament can and must approve the new Ukrainian constitution. It is obliged to do so in conformity with our country's legal norms. In my opinion, the executive power, including the president, has no right to put the draft constitution to the referendum.

[Yurychko] Why do you think the constitution cannot be adopted through a referendum?

[Moroz] Who can call normal and democratic a situation when a person is asked to vote for an undoubtedly positive document, if, in the opinion of that citizen, it contains about 30 percent of negative aspects and some 5 percent of it seems to him to be totally reactionary and may, under certain conditions, become prevailing? You see, in this case adoption of a new constitution through a referendum is not fair with regard to every individual citizen and may become the worst method for approving the country's Main Law.

[Yurychko] Yet, do you find it possible to offer separate clauses of the constitution to a nationwide referendum?

[Moroz] Yes, I do. However, before putting two or three key clauses of the constitution to a nationwide vote, it is necessary to have these question approved jointly by the three branches — legislative, executive, and judicial. People could express their attitude to forms of organization of power, issues of the status of land, and also social guarantees....

[Yurychko] What about symbols?

[Moroz] I agree that we have a problem here. In fact, not only does a part of our society refuse to recognize state symbols, but we also turn a blind eye to the fact that they are illegitimate in Ukraine. The parliament has failed to approve them by a constitutional majority. This problem must be solved. I believe, however, that this problem is exclusively the parliament's jurisdiction.

[Yurychko] However, the Supreme Council may fail to reach consensus?

[Moroz] In that case, a variant of the referendum is possible. But there may only be questions like "Do you agree to the available symbols?" But specific attributes or proposals regarding the form must be decided upon by the parliament.

[Yurychko] How would you comment upon the statement by Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma to the effect that the "adoption of a new constitution will mean an end to the Soviet power in Ukraine"?

[Moroz] I think that Leonid Kuchma spoke with concern about the fate of some representative bodies, and I quite understand this concern. He probably meant former Soviets (when decisions were approved by communist party committees), which are too slow in restructuring and cannot give up their past.

[Yurychko] How about a case when this does not refer to "just individual shortcomings," as was customary to say in the past, but when it is a matter of eliminating the entire institution of the power of Soviets?

[Moroz] I am convinced that it would be a great blunder to apply such approaches to implementation of the right of every citizen to power. I believe that the state is obliged to enable every citizen to freely delegate his powers to a representative body. This conforms to elementary democratic norms. This is the practice adopted by our neighbors and by all civilized and advanced countries of the world.

[Yurychko] You think that the new constitution must strengthen the role of Councils [of People's Deputies]?

[Moroz] I am in favor of building a clear-cut vertical structure of executive power at all levels. However, even now one feels negative consequences of the contradictions that are incorporated in the Constitutional Accord and I cannot agree to one branch of power being deprived of legal and real ways to exercise opposition.

[Yurychko] Doesn't this affect governmental functions?

[Moroz] The Cabinet of Ministers, certainly, needs close contacts and cooperation at the regional level. Otherwise, implementation of the ideas of state administration at the regional level will be very problematic. Determination, at the legislative level, of state functions of representative bodies will not only enable the Cabinet of Ministers to have distinct coordinating mechanisms, but also powers of legal control.

[Yurychko] The new Cabinet of Ministers was formed without the participation of the parliament. Doesn't this result in some negative aspects in your official relations?

[Moroz] We proceed from the objective need to establish good ties with the Cabinet of Ministers of Ukraine. This is dictated by the interests of our society, and this process will continue irrespective of some peoples' emotions.

[Yurychko] How is this achieved in practice?

[Moroz] The deputies rose to a new stage of mutual relations during the discussion of the government's program. The severe criticism to which the document was subjected did not prevent the Supreme Council from supporting the Cabinet of Ministers in its intention to resolve economic problems.

The parliament will continue looking for ways to strengthen constructive cooperation with the government. Implementation of these intentions may take the form of joint sessions of the Supreme Council Presidium and the Cabinet of Ministers, an approved plan for drafting legislative acts, joint work on the country's budget, and so on.

[Yurychko] Does the prime minister take part in this process?

[Moroz] Perhaps, without him, the process of interaction would not be satisfactory. Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk constantly makes constructive reciprocal steps. For its part, the parliament, for example, during the discussion of the governmental program, gave its support, first and foremost, to the new prime minister, assisting him in organizing the activity of the executive power and economic structures of the country.

[Yurychko] What is your attitude toward a possible election of Yevhen Marchuk as a people's deputy?

[Moroz] Objectively speaking, I want the prime minister to be a people's deputy. If Yevhen Marchuk is elected a member of the parliament, this may guarantee a strengthening of cooperation between the parliament and government.

It is true, though, that some legal problems may arise here. A recent decree, adopted by the parliament, sets certain parameters for the attitude to combining the deputies' functions. The parliament plans to discuss these problems on 1 and 5 December 1995. Then, both deputies and Yevhen Marchuk will be able to clearly determine their positions.

[Yurychko] Judging by your words, one can get an impression that you approve of combining deputy mandates with other state posts.

[Moroz] I am categorically against the presence in the parliament of other state or economic persons. Experience shows that those persons, who combine work at the Supreme Council with work at other state institutions, cease to be interested even in the fate of legislative bills proposed by the government. Not to mention any useful legislative activity.

[Yurychko] Aren't you apprehensive about the introduction of a new post — permanent representative of the Ukrainian president at the Supreme Council?

[Moroz] This is the right of the Ukrainian president, and I do not object to Leonid Kuchma's intention to appoint his official representative at the parliament. Even though, in my opinion, there are sufficient numbers of them among the present deputies. An optimal solution to this problem might be the fulfillment of functions of presidential permanent representative at the parliament by the Supreme Council chairman; Ukrainian president could be a Supreme Council's permanent representative in the executive structures.

However, perhaps, the introduction of a new post will be able to improve businesslike relations between the parliament and Presidential Administration. I am all for any steps that contribute to understanding between branches of power and I am also ready to support the candidate for permanent representative proposed by Leonid Kuchma. Some other actions by the Ukrainian president bewilder me....

[Yurychko] If possible, please explain these words.

[Moroz] I am against the Ukrainian president's constant meetings with some factions or groups of deputies. This is a novelty in the organization of state administration, if, of course, every body of power cares about its efficiency. To my mind, if such meetings are held, it is necessary to invite to them representatives of all of the Supreme Council's political forces, as well as the leadership of the parliament. Otherwise, one gets an impression that "an intrigue is in the making" there. Not by the president of the country and not by the Supreme Council, but by those people, who see the essence of their activity in such intrigues.

[Yurychko] Oleksandr Oleksandrovych, deputies react in a very ambivalent manner to determining orientations in Ukraine's foreign policy. Are you personally an advocate of Ukraine's course westward or eastward?

[Moroz] Ukraine must not have a dominant — to move either to the East or to the West. It has its fundamental strategic interests. They depend upon our country's development and must, accordingly, be implemented. At best, the statement about alternative choice of orientation is political speculation and demagogy. Nobody needs us, just like that, either in the West or in the East. We must present some interest for the partner. We must also see whether we have our interests — economic, business, personal at the level of citizens, or others — for example, in Russia. If so, there must be structures for their protection both at a state and interstate level.

In short, Ukraine must develop as an independent state and involve both the West and East into the range of its priority interests. Clearly, while giving attention to those aspects that guarantee stability in the economy and, thus, ensuring national security for the Ukrainian people.

Kuchma Called 'Hostage' to International Finance Bodies

*LD0212181395 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian
1630 GMT 2 Dec 95*

[Quotation marks as received]

[FBIS Translated Text] Zaporozhye — At a meeting of leaders of local authorities today, Ukrainian Supreme Council Chairman Oleksandr Moroz called the situation, whereby Ukraine's economic policies are dictated by international financial organizations, whose aim is "to de-industrialize production and eliminate potential competitors," — "insulting to the state." According to Moroz, the Ukrainian president is a hostage to this political game, because the state, not having sufficient funds to get out from the crisis, is forced to accept credits on certain conditions. In Moroz's opinion, the way out is to grant state or commercial credits to industry's priority sectors.

Moroz For Keeping Local Councils Under New Constitution

*LD0212181895 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian
1630 GMT 2 Dec 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Zaporozhye — "I fully support the draft law on a mechanism for adopting the Ukrainian Constitution, proposed by the Institute of Legislation attached to the Ukrainian Supreme Council," Supreme Council Chairman Oleksandr Moroz told UNIAN today.

Moroz said that at a recent meeting of Ukraine's deputy regional council chairmen he found support for the stance that "it is inexpedient to adopt the full text of the Constitution in a referendum, because this will be deception of the people." The Supreme Council chairman emphasized that when the draft Constitution is debated by the Constitutional Commission and in the Supreme Council, he will uphold the necessity of keeping councils and granting them self-governing functions, taking into account other countries' experience.

Kuchma Urges Speedy Reform of Armed Forces

*LD0212195995 Kiev UNIAR in Ukrainian
1925 GMT 2 Dec 95*

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma decorated a group of servicemen and employees of various Armed Forces services and the military-industrial complex.

Addressing those present, the president noted that economic reforms had recently started moving and a great deal had been done in the political field. According to him, the fact that we became fully-fledged members of the world community by entering the Council of Europe particularly demonstrates this. Leonid Kuchma said he was certain that reform of the army and other difficulties of the transitional period will be overcome through joint efforts as soon as possible, and that our descendants will be grateful to us for this. "It is symbolic," Leonid Kuchma said, addressing those present, "that you are receiving awards in the year of the 50th anniversary of victory in the Great Patriotic War and the 400th anniversary of the birth of Bohdan Khmelnytskyy, and that the current generation of the Ukrainian Army is preserving and multiplying their traditions. Therefore, it is necessary to reconstruct the army on the basis of traditions, current demands and responsibility, and in a businesslike way."

Kuchma, Moroz, Marchuk, Shmarov Discuss Army Issues

AU0412120995 Kiev URYADOVYY KURYER in Ukrainian 30 Nov 95 p 1

[Unattributed report: "The State Needs Up-to-Date Armed Forces"]

[FBIS Translated Text] On 28 November, an expanded meeting of the Armed Forces' leading personnel was held with the participation of Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma, supreme commander of the Armed Forces; Supreme Council Chairman Oleksandr Moroz; and Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk. Heads of ministries and departments whose activity is directly associated with ensuring the state's defense capability also took part in the meeting.

The conference summed up the results of work of the Armed Forces in 1995 and outlined trends of further development and reforms in the army. In his report, Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov pointed out this: Despite the existing obstacles and difficult economic situation, one can now state with confidence that Ukraine has its own Armed Forces capable of solving tasks successfully. The head of the military department analyzed the course of military building and its positive aspects and shortcomings. The defense minister specified urgent tasks upon the fulfillment of which the combat readiness of the Armed Forces and the prospects of their development depend.

The audience was addressed by Ukrainian President Leonid Kuchma. He stressed that the building of the Armed Forces is one of the main factors in the building of the state. L. Kuchma underscored that it is only in the case of proper attention to the army on the part of all state institutions that we will be able to change the situation for the better and create up-to-date Armed Forces.

He authorized the Cabinet of Ministers to take under its control the fulfillment of the president's directives on building the Armed Forces, to consider, as soon as possible, the State Program for providing with housing those servicemen and persons, who have become reservists, to stabilize the financing of the Armed Forces, to prevent delays in paying salaries to servicemen, and so on.

Defense Minister Says Army Guarantor of Independence

LD0212205595 Kiev Radio Ukraine World Service in Ukrainian 1900 GMT 2 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] From the historical point of view, the significance of the celebration of the 4th anniversary of the Ukrainian national army can hardly be overestimated, Ukraine's Defense Minister Valeriy Shmarov said opening a gala sitting on the occasion of Day of Ukrainian Armed Forces today.

Four years ago, Ukraine embarked on the road of an independent sovereign state, and its armed forces became the guarantor of its independence. This period of time is very short for the creation of any army; however, we can already now state that the Ukrainian army is capable of fighting and is ready to fulfill the tasks assigned to it.

A great deal of work is to be done; however, our achievements are essential, too, the minister said. We have ensured peace in the state, undergone testing within the composition of the UN peacemaking force in former Yugoslavia and during joint exercises within the Partnership for Peace program. Ukraine has established military cooperation with 30 countries, and this professional cooperation contributes to the consolidation of mutual understanding and stabilization of the situation on the continent.

Ukraine's President Leonid Kuchma has sent a message of greetings to the gala sitting and to all servicemen and armed forces veterans.

Experts Warn of Catastrophe From Dam Collapse

LD0212161295 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1130 GMT 2 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Kiev — An international group of independent experts investigating safety standards in the Dnepr chain of water reservoirs has issued a warning about excessively high water levels in the Kakhovka reservoir. "The sand and soil part of the dam structure could collapse, inflicting great environmental damage on all countries in the Black Sea and Mediterranean regions," says the group's statement circulated on 2nd December.

The collapse of the dam would result in a 20-30 meter high tidal wave moving at the speed of 130 km per hour, capable of destroying some of the cities and hundreds of towns on its way in Kherson, Nikolayev, and Odessa regions and in Crimea and killing an estimated 500,000 people.

The Black Sea could become completely extinct if immense amounts of oil and oil products, thousands of tonnes of chemicals, salts of base metals, dozens of tonnes of ammonia (ammonium) and other chemicals find their way into it. The coastal areas and resorts of the Azov Sea, the Black Sea, and the Mediterranean would be irreparably damaged.

The authors of the document are appealing to governmental, ecological, and other circles of the potential disaster area to take urgent measures to avert catastrophe and assist Ukraine in strengthening the Kakhovka reservoir dam.

Vasyl Durdynets, Ukraine's Deputy Prime Minister for State Security and Emergency Situations, told the initiators of the appeal that the government of Ukraine is aware of the possible consequences of a disaster and plans to submit the issue of safe functioning of the facilities of the Dnepr chain of reservoirs for consideration by the government's standing commission for environmental safety and emergency situations.

Economic Issues

Moroz Says Budget Constrained by International Banks

LD0212155395 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1130 GMT 2 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Zaporozhye — The main parameters of Ukraine's 1996 state budget do no reflect Ukraine's specific features - they have been stipulated by international financial organizations, Ukraine's Supreme Council chairman Oleksandr Moroz said at a meeting with chairmen of city and district councils of people's deputies in Zaporozhye region on 2 December. According to a UNIAN special correspondent, Moroz said this referred, first and foremost, to the "rigid parameters of the budget deficit and inflation" which, as proposed, should be achieved by reducing expenditure for the social sphere and for the development of domestic production. The key branches of the economy "require state support and parliament will defend this idea, although this will not be an easy job to do," Moroz said.

The parliament speaker believes that "the existing taxation system is undermining production; however, the draft state budget envisages that the budget revenue will be yielded under this very system."

Moroz said the parliament's move to reject the government's amendments to the Land Code of Ukraine was final; however, the government submitted them for the consideration of the Supreme Council for the second time. The parliament speaker said the amendments to the Land Code "endanger Ukraine's national interests because they turn commodity land [as received] into a commodity," and this is inadmissible under the current economic situation.

Moroz Against Cutting Allocations to Power Industry

LD0112203095 Kiev UNIAN in Ukrainian 1625 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Zaporozhye — On 4 December, Ukrainian parliament commissions will hold a joint session to discuss methods of considering the draft law on state budget. The session, which is also to discuss "sectional and regional budget balances," will be held on the premises of the Supreme Council of Ukraine and will not be broadcast on the radio, Ukrainian Supreme Council Chairman Oleksandr Moroz said at a meeting with leaders of industrial and agricultural enterprises of Zaporozhye Region on 1 December.

The parliament speaker emphasized inadmissibility of cutting state budget capital appropriations for the power engineering industry in view of the state's intention to modernize nuclear and other types of power stations in Ukraine. Therefore, the draft program for Ukraine' power engineering industry, which was approved by parliament in the first reading, should be corrected, Moroz believes.

According to Moroz, "Prime Minister Yevhen Marchuk abides by the opinion that the government should restore the practices of granting state credits to the priority sections of Ukraine's economy."

Belarus

Hryb Favors Economic, Not Political Union With Russia

LD0112181395 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1349 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] MINSK, Dec 1 (Interfax-West) — Belarussian parliament speaker Mechyslaw Hryb has called for economic reunification with Russia but on equal and mutually advantageous terms.

"The majority of the population in the republic favours economic integration with Russia," Hryb said, adding that "proposals for political integration do not get extensive support."

"If a referendum were held today, the majority would vote for sovereignty," Hryb declared, noting that political integration of the two countries runs counter to the Belarussian Constitution and legislation. "For Russia, it is better to have Belarus as a friendly sovereign power than as yet another republic or region within the Russian Federation. It is better to have a true ally than another territorial entity," Hryb stressed.

He did not rule out that before the presidential elections in Russia next June a question might arise on political integration with Belarus that might serve as a trump card in the election struggle.

Speaking about the economic aspect of relations with Russia, Hryb said that Belarus should search for alternative energy sources. "We must not be dependent on one state alone but should buy oil and gas wherever that's lucrative for us," Hryb said.

President Interviewed on Elections, Russia

LD0312230095 Moscow Russian Public Television First Channel Network in Russian
1900 GMT 3 Dec 95

[Studio interview with President Alyaksandr Lukashenka, in Minsk, by correspondent Nelli Petkova, in Moscow — live]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Petkova] Still on the subject of elections, only this time the elections in Belarus. Run-off elections to that republic's new parliament were held this week. The count showed that they are still 33 deputies short of a quorum. The final round of voting should take place on 10 December.

Meanwhile, President Lukashenka has publicly said that if parliament ends up inquorate and unable to function properly, then he is ready to introduce direct presidential rule.

Statements like these have, first, influenced the voter turnout in Belarus to a certain extent — since 60 percent cast their papers — and second, attracted the world media's attention, by indicating to them that an authoritarian regime could appear at the heart of Europe.

Come in our studio in Minsk and President Lukashenka of Belarus. Hello, Mr. President.

[Lukashenka] Hello, Nelli.

[Petkova] Mr. President, you have said you are willing to introduce direct presidential rule in Belarus. Please explain what you mean by direct presidential rule.

[Lukashenka] Before I answer your question, can I ask you this — why are you in Russia and the media so worried about what the Belarusian president says? Please tell me straight, Nelli.

[Petkova] Your statements attract attention because they are so extraordinary.

[Lukashenka] Ah, well if they are extraordinary, then I can answer. As you know, the term of office of the Supreme Soviet in Belarus is five years, as laid down in the Constitution. Our Supreme Soviet, in breach of the Constitution, extended its term of office by nearly a year and in doing so wrecked the previous elections. Therefore, there is no legislature today. In keeping with the Constitution and the legislative system created by the old Supreme Soviet, the president de facto and unfortunately de jure today runs the state, because the other authority...[pauses] and it is probably not needed, since its the executive is carrying out its own duties. As far as legislation is concerned, we are operating within the legal framework created by the old Supreme Soviet. There is absolutely no reason to worry about this. The Supreme Soviet has already been elected. It will start performing its duties in December. So it will continue forming laws and there is no other, I stress, executive authority in Belarus, there never has been and there never will be.

In my opinion, Nelli, you have been misled, most of all by our nationalistic mass media who [word indistinct] nonsense. They are misleading. Someone or other has received a fat sum of money — believe me, I know what I am saying — and has now starting saying that I am wiping my feet on them and trying to break them. They are trying to frighten Russia and especially the democrats in Russia, and maybe above all Russian journalists with talk about some kind of dictatorship in Belarus. There is no dictatorship and will not be, and what has happened here is not my fault.

[Petkova] After these run-off elections the Belarus parliament might be fully formed. What in your opinion is parliament's role under rule by Lukashenka?

[Lukashenka] Our parliament was formed in May. Under the Constitution, the new parliament gathers for its inaugural session three weeks after the elections. That is exactly what it says in the Constitution. It does not say what proportion, two-thirds or whatever, of the total has to be elected. It simply and clearly says there are 260 deputies. That is the parliament. There cannot be any more. There is no lower limit. But that is what the Constitution says, the Constitution produced by this same Supreme Soviet that has been in power for six years instead of five. So our parliament was formed in May, consisting of 120 deputies. To be precise, 119 were elected. And it should have started work. But the Supreme Soviet quickly passed a law on itself, saying that there could be no parliament until two-thirds had been elected. Why did they do that? Knowing the public's attitude toward parliament, the Supreme Soviet wanted to prolong its own existence. And it worked, on the basis of this law. But under the Constitution, parliament should have been doing its job a long ago.

You are now saying that after repeat elections parliament will be formed. But we have got a parliament already. There are 140 deputies in the Belarusian parliament. Imagine, so many deputies. That is perhaps one too many for our small country. But under our Constitution we have opted for repeat elections. The second round will take place on the 10th. As you say, parliament will then be formed. It will draw up laws and monitor their enforcement as set out in the Constitution, while the president, as the head of state and the head of the executive power in the Republic of Belarus, will carry out his own duties, while acting in the framework of the space allocated to him, just like in Russia, incidentally. By the way, the Constitution both in your country and ours clearly defines the legal space of parliament, the president, the courts, and the media.

[Petkova] Mr. President, you are well-known as a champion of integration, both in the framework of the CIS generally, and with Russia in particular. How far are you prepared to move in that direction?

[Lukashenka] I am prepared to go as far as fraternal Russia is prepared to go.

[Petkova] Could you expand?

[Lukashenka] Let us take the economic sphere. We are prepared to go as far as creation of common and joint systems, such as industrial-financial groups, production associations that will include banks, Russian and Ukrainian enterprises. Russia will supply raw materials, processing will be done in Belarus. Money will be jointly Russian and Belarusian. We will be joint vendors and will share the profits. So what is wrong about that?

[Petkova] Do you want to say that Russia and Belarus have conditions for this kind of integration.

[Lukashenka] Absolutely. No doubt about that.

[Petkova] What is the economic situation in Belarus at present?

[Lukashenka] Just the same as in Russia. One to one [as heard].

[Petkova] What do you think about NATO's expansion to the East and the new forms of cooperation proposed by Russia in that respect?

[Lukashenka] You know I cannot boast great knowledge about Russia's position on NATO. I will tell you my own position. My view is clear. I am categorically against NATO's expansion to the East.

[Petkova] Russia's new initiative is this. Russia is proposing partnership with NATO as opposed to NATO's expansion. Can you comment on this position?

[Lukashenka] I do not want to comment on any positions. Nor do I want to hear any formulations or definitions from the Belarusian or Russian leaderships. They are misleading for ordinary people. Positions must be clear and distinct. I do not favor confrontation. I am only in favor of cooperation. I am for cooperation. But I am not in favor of any processes in the name of cooperation, including processes in the opposite direction.

[Petkova] Thank you, Mr. President.

Moldova

Snegur: Country 'Cannot Become' NATO Member

AU0212160095 Chisinau INFOTAG in English
1930 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau, November 30 (INFOTAG) — Seeking integration into European Union structures, Moldova nevertheless cannot become a NATO member, as its Constitution proclaimed Moldova a neutral country which shall not join any military blocs, President Mircea Snegur stated in his interview with the NEUE ZURICHER ZEITUNG newspaper of Switzerland and the HANDELSBLATT of Germany.

"We do not think that NATO's possible broadening towards the East will bring any danger to Moldova's security," he said, and added that "when NATO begins the expansion, it should necessarily consider all factors, all possible consequences, first and foremost — the Russian factor."

The president expressed concern that the Russian State Duma still had ratified neither the basic Moldovan-Russian Treaty, signed as long ago as in 1990, nor the Agreement of October 21, 1994 on the withdrawal of Russian troops from the Moldovan territory. "We are looking forward to the forthcoming elections to the State Duma with quite an interest, for the would-be forum will largely influence the official Russia's stance on the Dniester issue," Mr. Snegur said.

Moldovan President Mircea Snegur also stated in the aforementioned interview that he is "dreaming to organize, as soon as possible, a team of like-minded allies so that to conduct the second stage of reforms in the next 5 years with least errors," — the presidential press service has reported.

Observers have regarded this statement as Snegur's intention to struggle for a second presidency.

"I have been Moldovan president since 1990, and now I must report to the nation what I have done, and to outline new priorities. I believe, we have something to tell the people," Snegur said. He presumes it a priority to make 1996 a turning point in the economic reform. This implies an economic growth, making the Bankruptcy Law effective, exports and wages growth, accomplishment of privatization, revision of the budget policy in favour of a better population protection.

In the political field, Snegur puts a priority emphasis on bringing up the Moldovan youth in the spirit of patriotism.

Yeltsin Letter: Chisinau Policy 'Has Not Changed'

AU0212174395 Chisinau BASAPRESS in English 1930 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Chisinau 01/12/1995 (BASA-press) — Boris Yeltsin, Russian president, addressed the Moldovan president Mircea Snegur a letter today. "In connection with your letter regarding the adoption on November 17 by the State Duma of the resolution on the Dniester question" — the letter states — "I would like to stress once again that the Russian Federation policy toward Moldova has not changed and it aims to further develop and strengthen our friendship relations and the reciprocal advantageous cooperation both on bilateral basis and within CIS. This is one of Russia's foreign policy main priorities. I think we both believe that the Moldovan-Russian relations will speed up if the Dniester conflict is politically settled. Russia's position in this issue is well known to you. We support the dialogue between Chisinau and Tiraspol, oriented to adopt the Dniester special juridical status by preserving Moldova's independence and territorial integrity," Boris Yeltsin mentioned. The message stated that "the Russian president representative is ready to make his contribution together with the OSCE mission to the Dniester question solution. We confirm" — the Russian president says — "the agreement mentioned in our common communique of June 28 regarding the holding of a large high level meeting. If Chisinau and Tiraspol agree to the paper of political regulations, Dniester leaders can be invited to the meeting for signing." In his letter Yeltsin asked Snegur "to make his contribution to the solution of the question of a consulate in Tiraspol, question often put to the Moldovan authorities." The Russian president believes that "this would help assist the Russian citizens that live in the region, support their rights and interests. I completely agree with you as to the necessity to solve any problem through negotiations. The effectiveness of such an attitude was repeatedly confirmed by the experience of our bilateral relations," the letter to Mircea Snegur, quoted by BASA-press, reads.

Joint Control Commission Examines Status of Russian Troops

AU0212171595 Chisinau INFOTAG in English 1930 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Bender, November 30 (INFOTAG) — The Joint Control Commission [JCC] held its 200th sitting here on Wednesday [29 November]. The unit has been working for over 3 years by now in conformity with the Moldovan-Russian agreement "On the Principles of Peaceful Settlement of the Conflict in the Dniester Region of the Republic of Moldova" dated July 21, 1992, and has been controlling the situation in the Dniester security zone, and coordinating the activities of the joint peacekeeping contingent.

The Commission includes representatives from Moldova, Dniester, and the Russian Federation. All its decisions are adopted on a consensus basis. Its sittings are attended by representatives of the OSCE [Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe] Permanent Mission in Moldova.

On Wednesday, the Commission unanimously voted for appointing Russian Colonel Vyacheslav Larin chief of staff of the joint peacekeeper force for the next term. A tripartite facility has been set up to clarify the peacekeeper financing issues. The necessity to do so is due to Tiraspol's accusations that Moldova is, allegedly, under-financing the contingent, which was resolutely denied by the Chisinau team.

The CMC has also touched on the proposition forwarded by Lieutenant General Aleksandr Sokolov of the Russian Defence Ministry concerning giving a peacekeeper status to the Dniester-deployed Russian military contingent. The Moldovan members in the CMC have stated, that issue is much above the CMC competition, and can only be considered by the heads of state.

They remarked, such a decision would come into a contradiction with the basic Agreement of July 21, 1992, which stipulated the neutrality of the Russian 14th Army, no matter its current name. Some time earlier, a similar opinion was stated to INFOTAG by the Moldovan Parliament chairman, Mr. Petru Lucinschi, who said the Moldovan leadership was synonymously in favour of the realization of the Army Withdrawal Agreement.

Russia Proposes Revamping Force

MK0212084695 Moscow NEZAVISIMAYA GAZETA in Russian 1 Dec 95 p 3

[Unattributed report under the "NEGA Reports" rubric: "Moldova"]

[FBIS Translated Text] Russian peacekeeping battalions currently deployed in the Dniester Region may in the future be filled out by servicemen of an operational group of Russian forces. The Russian side advanced this proposal at a regular meeting of the Joint Controlling Commission [JCC] in Bendery. Vladimir Ustinov, cochairman of the JCC from the Russian Federation, made it clear that this proposal was prompted by economic causes and by a desire to "reduce the burden of the considerable costs borne by Russia in carrying out its peacekeeping mission in the region."

Dniester President Comments on Talks With Government

LD0112152795 Moscow Mayak Radio Network in Russian 1316 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Here is our correspondent Yuriy Selivanov on the line from Tiraspol. He will report on the talks that have taken place in Moldova:

[Selivanov] Good day. Literally five minutes ago Igor Smirnov, president of the Dniester Moldovan Republic, ended his news conference in Tiraspol. The news conference was devoted to relations between the Dniester region and Moldova in the light of the virtual ending of talks between them. In his assessment of the situation, the Dniester leader considers that the possibility of conducting the talks successfully is being most seriously hampered by the international situation, which is developing in such a way that Moldova does not feel any real need to conduct such talks energetically. While Moldova's most acute problem today — the Dniester problem — remains very far from being resolved, Chisinau continues unhindered to receive Western credits totalling many millions. In addition, Moldova is being accepted into prestigious international organizations such as the Council of Europe.

In the opinion of Igor Smirnov, in this way the West is virtually promoting the mothballing of the Dniester conflict. Immediately after the talks, which were initially scheduled for 29 November, failed to take place, an intensive exchange of opinions began between the sides with the active participation of mediators from the OSCE and Russia. Today it seems to have already become clear that the talks have not totally collapsed. Chisinau let it be known via intermediaries that it is ready, under certain conditions, to resume direct contacts. Tiraspol is very much counting on these conditions not being in the form of an ultimatum as has frequently happened in the past.

Igor Smirnov also expressed hope for rapid progress in the sphere of the real demilitarization of the conflict region. In particular he announced Tiraspol's readiness to discuss the question of restoring the bridges across the Dniester that were destroyed during the armed conflict, on condition that heavy military equipment is withdrawn from the adjacent territory.

At the news conference it was stressed that the five years of the real existence of the Dniester Moldovan Republic is the best confirmation of its viability and its right to statehood. This must be taken into account in any approach to settling the Dniester conflict, it was stated at the news conference. As far as concerns relations with Moldova, they can and should be regulated on the basis of international law and on conditions of mutual delegation of powers, with the obligatory provision of security guarantees to the 700,000 people of the Dniester region.

Kazakhstan

Nazarbayev Satisfied With Government Performance

LD0112183995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1644 GMT 1 Dec 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] President Nursultan Nazarbayev regards as his priorities in December the parliamentary elections and the adoption of next year's budget, the presidential press-secretary Dulat Kuanyshev has said. He was speaking at a briefing in the capital Almaty on Friday.

(The elections of the upper house of parliament are scheduled for December 5, and the lower house, on December 9).

Kuanyshev said the President was going to do everything in his powers to ensure that the voting should be democratic and smooth. Nazarbayev has no doubts there will be a big turnout and that in most constituencies the elections will be valid. The presidential press-secretary believes that a future parliament would be more centrist, because there are almost no extreme radicals among the candidates.

Kuanyshev said that when the Cabinet met in enlarged session on November 28, President Nazarbayev supported the draft budget for next year and the medium-term program for government policies to advance reforms, extending until 1998. Both amended documents will soon be submitted to the president for approval. "On the whole the president is satisfied with the Cabinet's performance," Kuanyshev said.

He said that on December 5 Nazarbayev will be awarded the diploma and robe of the honorary doctor of the Kazakh University of Management and Forecasting.

On December 6-8 President Nazarbayev will make a visit to the Taldy-Kurgan region, southeast of Almaty. On December 9 he will take part in the voting in the 64th Medeun constituency, where six candidates are contesting seats in the lower house.

Kuanyshev said that in December there would be a number of national conferences, including a session of the Security Council, which will consider a plan for its activities and personnel changes. At the end of December President Nazarbayev will pay an official visit to Israel.

On New Year's Eve Nazarbayev will arrange a traditional presidential festival in Aktyubinsk, Western Kazakhstan.

Uranium, Power Plant Agreement With Belgian Firm

LD0112223395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 2111 GMT 1 Dec 95

[By ITAR-TASS correspondent Aleksey Agureyev]

[FBIS Translated Text] New York, 1 Dec — Kazakhstan has reached an agreement to sell its uranium to the Belgian firm "Tractebel," and for this firm to build an electric power station in the town of Uralsk. This news was made public today at the ceremonial closing in San Diego of the "Kazakhstan-95" exhibition.

This agreement, as it was stressed at the ceremony, was the first completely foreign investment project in Kazakhstan. According to calculations, capital investments of about half a billion U.S. dollars will be needed to build the electric power station. According to the agreement, the full financing of the project will be carried out by the Belgian firm.

Radioactive Waste Piles Up in Kazakhstan

LD0412075395 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0737 GMT 4 Dec 95

[By Gennadiy Kulagin]

[FBIS Translated Text] Almaty, 4 December (ITAR-TASS) — Radioactive waste dumps at Kazakhstan's uranium mining and processing plants have swollen to a vast size: 219 million tonnes. Their aggregate radioactivity amounts to 250 thousand curies, according to the Ministry of Ecology and Biological Resources. This figure is many times more than the accepted norm, in expert opinion.

During the Soviet era, disposal of waste and financing were decided in Moscow. But there are neither the people nor the money to do this in today's Kazakhstan or the other CIS countries.

Tajikistan

Radio Reports UN Threatens Pullout From Talks

LD0312160995 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Tajikistan in Tajik 0600 GMT 3 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Another report received from Turkmenistan says that Ramiro Piriz-Ballon, the UN secretary general's special envoy at the Tajik talks, has called this round of talks the decisive one, in spite of all the disagreements between the sides. Piriz-Ballon has expressed the hope that this discord at the beginning will change into an accord at the end, and that one will soon be able to observe notable progress at the talks.

The UN secretary general's special envoy also warned that if the parties to the conflict in Tajikistan do not show the inclination [to set aside discord] for the sake of peace in the country, the United Nations will consider ceasing to hold these talks under its aegis.

We must also add that the United Nations and the observer- countries [at the talks] supported the opposition's proposal to send a delegation to Tavildara [to observe the extent to which the two sides are observing the cease-fire].

Opposition Blames Regime for Delay in Peace Talks

LD0212100795 (Clandestine) Voice of Free Tajikistan in Uzbek 0600 GMT 2 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Ramiro Piriz-Ballon, the UN secretary-general's special envoy to Tajikistan, has conducted consultations with both negotiating delegations in the Turkmen capital. The negotiations has not begun yet owing to the continuation of clashes in Tavildara initiated by the regime.

Opposition Leader Accuses Russia of Interference

LD0112191395 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1819 GMT 1 Dec 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ASHGABAT, Dec 1 (Interfax) — Leader of the Tajik united opposition and the Movement for Islamic Revival of Tajikistan Said Abdullo Nuri has accused the Russian side of "direct interference in the internal conflict of Tajikistan."

"Russian warplanes intensively bombed the settlements of Lodzhurgi-Poyen, Lodzhurgi-Bolo and Sangvor" on November 30, the day the talks started in the Turkmen capital, Said Abdullo Nuri claims in a letter to head of the opposition delegation to the Ashgabat inter-Tajik talks Akbar Turadzhonzoda. "A large number of apartment houses were ruined, elderly people and children were killed," he says.

These actions "run counter to statements by Russian top officials on neutrality and non-interference in the international conflict in Tajikistan," the letter says.

Nuri urged Turadzhonzoda to tell this to participants in the Ashgabat talks and U.N. representatives who are attending the talks.

At yesterday's official ceremony for opening negotiations, the chief negotiator from the opposition Akbar Turadzhonzod demanded that government troops halt its drive in the Garm region and in Badakhshan as an indispensable conditions for continuous negotiations.

Dushanbe Accepts Demands for Observers' Trip To Pamir

LD0112184995 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1644 GMT 1 Dec 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] The government of Tajikistan has agreed to a fact-finding trip by delegates from conflicting parties, as well as observers from Turkmenistan and the United Nations to the foothills of the Pamir mountains requested by the opposition. The government's decision was announced by Dushanbe's chief delegate at the inter-Tajik talks in Dushanbe, First Deputy Prime Minister Makhmadsaid Ubaydullayev on Thursday.

(The fifth round of inter-Tajik talks began in the Turkmen capital as planned on November 30).

Ubaydullayev said that emotions would ease and everything would subside and confirmed his government's readiness to compromise. IF Note: As soon as the talks began, chief opposition delegate Akbar Turadzhonzoda demanded that government troops should end their offensive in the Garm district and Badakhshan, saying it was the mandatory condition of further talks. He also demanded deploying United Nations military observers in the foothills of the Pamir mountains.

Turadzhonzoda said in an interview that the opposition's delegation would stay in Ashgabat waiting for its demands to be met. At the same time he did not rule out further consultations with United Nations officials. He said that the joint commission, set up after the third round of talks to monitor compliance with the Tehran agreement, two representatives from each side and observers must have a chance to see for themselves whether the cease-fire was observed. Turadzhonzoda said that United Nations official supported the Opposition's demand. "We believe that the government of Turkmenistan will make a positive decision on sending observers," the Opposition leader said.

U.N. special envoy Ramiro Piris-Ballon on Friday held separate consultations on the issue with delegates from Dushanbe and the Tajik opposition. The chief of the Turkmen Foreign Ministry's foreign policy department Serdar Durdyiev speculates that the sides will try to work out a procedure to make the talks continuous.

On Friday it was announced that the parties concerned would probably visit the foothills of the Pamir mountains on December 4.

R. Piris Ballon said in an interview he was certain about the eventual success of the talks. He agreed that if either side lacked goodwill, the United Nations would curtail its activity in Tajikistan. At the same time he described this as a remote possibility.

Meanwhile, the leader of the Tajik Opposition and the Movement for the Islamic Revival of Tajikistan, Said Abdullo Nuri has accused Russia of direct interference in an internal conflict in Tajikistan.

In a message to Turadzhonzoda he claimed that on November 30, the day when the negotiations began Russian warplanes bombed three villages — Ludzhurgi-Poen, Ludzhurgi-Bolo and Sangvor. Nuri says that many homes were destroyed and elderly people and children killed.

In his message he describes these actions as "running counter to statements by top Russian officials and non-interference in the conflict in Tajikistan."

Nuri also said that on November 29 Tajik government troops forced four residents of the Dzhur village to walk across a mine-field at gun-point to collect the bodies of killed soldiers. As a result "three persons died in a mine explosion and the fourth was seriously injured," the Tajik Opposition claimed.

Nuri urged Turadzhonzoda to make these facts known to the negotiators in Ashgabat and the United Nations officials attending the talks.

On Friday afternoon there was another consultative meeting of the special U.N. envoy R. Piris Ballon with Turadzhonzoda. The Tajik Opposition leader agreed to meet with Dushanbe's delegates on the condition the question of a cease- fire in the Tavildara district was discussed. R. Piris-Ballon promised that the United Nations would start an investigation at once into the opposition's claims about combat operations by government troops.

Turkmenistan

President Niyazov Receives Tajik Opposition Delegation

LD0112183195 Ashgabat Radio Ashgabat Network in Russian 1330 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] President Saparmurad Turkmenbashy [Niyazov] of Turkmenistan today received the delegation headed by Akbar Turajonzoda Gafurov, which is to take part in the intra-Tajik talks. During the conversation with the guests, Saparmurad Turkmenbashy noted the great significance of unity and mutual accord for the peaceful and stable development of the states that have achieved independence and are taking their own path of development. The head of the Tajik delegation paid tribute to the services of Turkmen President Saparmurad Turkmenbashy in establishing peace-loving relations in the region. President Saparmurad Turkmenbashy of Turkmenistan underlined in particular that by its peacemaking actions, as well as by its efforts directed at achieving unity, Turkmenistan is pursuing the goal of implementing the principles of its peace-loving policy in the region.

Shikhmuradov Says Inter-Tajik Talks Gain Momentum

LD0212175695 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1638 GMT 2 Dec 95

[By Lyudmila Glazovskaya]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] ASHGABAT, December 2 (Itar-Tass) - Despite deep rifts between the Tajik government and the opposition, their talks have gained momentum and entered their fifth round currently underway in the Turkmen capital Ashgabat.

"There is no doubt that the participants in the Ashgabat round of intra-Tajik dialogue are set for constructive work," Turkmen Foreign Minister Boris Shikhmuradov told Itar-Tass on Saturday.

U.N. mediators — the U.N. Secretary General's special envoy to Tajikistan Ramiro Piriz Ballon and Shikhmuradov — held intensive consultations with representatives of the observer nations — Russia, Iran and Pakistan — on Saturday.

Shikhmuradov stressed that direct contacts between the parties with the participation of mediators and Turkmen diplomats highlighted their potential to look for compromise decisions and solutions.

At the same time, he noted that Ballon asked the parties to the talks to refrain from unmotivated attacks against each other and urged them to create an atmosphere of mutual trust.

The talks have been adjourned until Monday.

Armenia

Prime Minister Receives European Council Delegation

NC0112203295 Yerevan Armenia's Radio First Program Network in Armenian 1700 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan today received an EU [as heard] delegation on an official visit to Yerevan led by (Fokeon Fotiadhis), head of a subdivision of the political relations directorate of the Council of Europe [CE].

In briefing the prime minister on the results of talks held with Armenian officials, the head of the delegation pointed out that the most important issue is implementing the CE's strategy on aiding Armenia. He noted that this strategy includes three important elements: helping Armenia consolidate its independence; the deepening of democratic reforms; and assisting in the development of cooperation in the Caucasus. The EU [as heard] official expressed his satisfaction at the Armenian Government's readiness to continue with the reforms, considering it is a criteria for future cooperation.

The issue of Armenia joining the Partnership For Peace program was also discussed at the meeting.

Prime Minister Grant Bagratyan noted the importance of the delegation's fruitful work in Yerevan and added that this laid the foundation to further deepen the future political dialogue and cooperation between the CE and Armenia.

The prime minister also gave his views on the upcoming meeting of the Minsk Group, which were positively received by the EU [as heard] delegation.

Karabakh Speaker Criticizes Azerbaijani Stance

NC3011220495 Yerevan Radio Yerevan International Service in Armenian 2100 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] There is no historical instance in which the defeated side in a war achieves success by imposing its will on the victor. It appears that in the final stage of negotiations [on Karabakh problem in Bonn] Baku is trying to refute universal truths. Karen Baburyan, chairman of the Nagorno-Karabakh Republic Parliament, said this to an AZG correspondent when commenting on peculiarities in recent Azerbaijani-Karabakh relations.

In Baburyan's opinion, the talks' impasse can be blamed on the Azerbaijanis, who, he added, are trying to make gains without making sacrifices. Baburyan said: Azerbaijan's desire to compensate diplomatically for its military defeats on the battlefield is understandable, but I do not think it will result in success. This is because, he noted, the decision of the Karabakh Armenians to secede from Azerbaijan and establish a separate state is irreproachable from the point of international law. During the round of talks, the representatives of the neighboring country are intentionally overlooking Karabakh's strongest credential. That is, the law adopted by the former USSR Supreme Soviet on 3 April 1991 on the procedures on resolving issues relating to the secession of Soviet republics from the USSR.

Azerbaijan

Gasanov Speaks in UK on Russia, 'Caucasian Conflicts'

LD3011125395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1148 GMT 30 Nov 95

[By Andrey Urban]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] London, November 30 (Itar-Tass) — Azerbaijan expects the Russian Federation to play a more active role in the settlement of the Nagorno-Karabakh issue, Itar-Tass was told today by Azeri Foreign Minister Gasan Gasanov, who is currently visiting London.

"We stand for close all-round interaction with Russia," Gasanov noted.

He said that Moscow "should be more active in the effort to settle all the outstanding problems, especially the Caucasian conflicts".

Aliyev Addresses London Conference on Investment

LD3011224095 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1650 GMT 30 Nov 95

[From the "Presidential Bulletin" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Below is President Geydar Aliyev's speech at an international conference in London on Wednesday on investment opportunities in Azerbaijan organized by the Adam Smith Institute of Britain.

As he thanked forum organizers for their attention to the future of the Azeri economy, Aliyev said his republic had always been an important center of international trade while its mineral resources, especially oil, had drawn an interest by world business. He was confident Azerbaijan was on the verge of an economic revival given its untapped potential.

The president said Azeri independence gained after the break up of the former Soviet Union had set conditions for crucial political and economic reforms. He said Baku's strategic policy was aimed at building a sovereign, democratic, law-governed state with a market economy closed integrated into the world economic community. Aliyev said the government-declared policy of sweeping political and economic reforms had already yielded results.

He said the ideas of human rights and civil freedoms and a multi-party democracy had taken root in the Azeri society putting the number of parties at over 300 with the number of independent newspapers and TV companies running into hundreds.

Among key political events in the country, the president referred to this month's constitutional referendum and the country's first multi-party elections whose outcome "indicates unequivocal public support for the country's independence and democratic development."

He put at eight the number of parties represented in the new parliament, most of them backing the government policy of internal stability and economic reforms and Azerbaijan's early incorporation into the international community.

Aliyev was confident that internal stability had been strengthened and conditions set for implementing progressive social reforms.

At the same time, he said not only does the new constitution set guarantees of wide ranging political freedoms, but it also reaffirms the course at developing a market economy, including different patterns of ownership and inviolability of private property, and ensures the freedom and rights of entrepreneurial business.

He said that more than 40 laws and 200 regulations form a legislative basis for the protection of business interests.

The president also spoke of a large scale privatization scheme now being at work, with retail and services already falling into private hands. He said agricultural reform had helped set up over 2,500 private farms. Other sweeping measures are being taken in all areas of economic management.

Over a thousand joint ventures and wholly foreign-owned businesses operate in Azerbaijan. Discussion is under way to set up a free economic zone in Sumgait and place a number of facilities under foreign management to the benefit of both sides.

Aliyev said if these plans were carried through, private business would have a renewed impetus and foreign investment flow into Azerbaijan to help finance local projects. He said the country has all it takes to succeed including a scientific and industrial basis, skilled workforce and labor supply. Among promising investment areas, he named oil engineering, petrochemicals, steel, consumer production and services.

Aliyev spoke of being satisfied over Baku's cooperation with international financiers and the European Union indicating some progress in banking reform and financial stabilization helping to steady the national currency and curb inflation falling from 60 percent in December 1994 to a monthly 2 percent in the past six months. There are also indications of industrial stabilization, he believes.

The president held out promises of setting the best incentives possible for those investors who are ready to help create new jobs, boost up exports and cut imports, especially food imports. He also informed about setting up appropriate government structures in aid of foreign-owned small and medium business operating in the Azeri market including the removal of bureaucratic hurdles in its way.

As a glaring example of the country's open door policy, Aliyev referred to Baku's cooperation with leading oil transnationals such as British Petroleum, AMOCO, Exxon, Penzoil, Agip, LUKoil and others. In this connection, he mentioned about the recently-signed oil deal of the century on oil exploration and oil development on Azeri, Chirag and Gyuneshli sites involving 11 companies from seven countries. He said not only was it economically viable, but the deal also marked the country's first breakthrough into the system of world economic cooperation helping to beef up Azerbaijan's geopolitical positions.

Aliyev pledged to continue to set a good investment environment and provide benefits for such projects in future.

On a recent decision to lay down twin pipelines to pump early oil from Azerbaijan via Russia and Georgia, Aliyev said the project would also make a positive impact on the economies of neighboring states. He is also confident about a success to be made by one other deal struck on November 10 for oil exploration on Karabakh oil field involving Russia, Italy, the United States and Azerbaijan.

In his view, oil agreements will open up wider opportunities in related sectors and create good investment opportunities for entrepreneurial business.

But the president also complained about the difficulties of a transition period and the effects of external aggression. He said the Armenian-Azeri war, now more than seven years long, caused by Armenia's drive for annexation of Nagorno-Karabakh, had led to Armenia's occupation of over 20 percent of Azeri territory turning more than a million Azeris into refugees. He accused Yerevan of ignoring UN Security Council resolution 4 on troop withdrawals from the occupied lands.

And yet, he said, Azerbaijan was committed to a negotiated solution to the regional conflict within the format of the OSCE's Minsk group. He hopes that the cease-fire agreement, holding for over 18 months now, as well as active diplomatic efforts will help achieve a lasting peace, reinstate the country's integrity and repatriation of refugees.

Overall, the president sees internal stability as his government's vital achievement needed for further reforms. He said the growing unity in the name of resolving the tasks of nationwide scope, beefing up the country's statehood and law and order and genuine guarantees of human rights and freedoms had created an atmosphere of stability conducive for foreign investment.

In conclusion, Aliyev expressed the hope that the London forum would become a landmark in Baku's cooperation with world business.

Aliyev: Baku Willing To Give Karabakh Political Autonomy

NC0312220795 Paris AFP in English
2100 GMT 3 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Paris, Dec 3 (AFP) — Azerbaijan's President Geydar Aliyev said Sunday [3 December] his country was prepared to give the region of Nagorno-Karabakh political autonomy in return for Armenian concessions over the hotly disputed enclave.

In an interview with AFP, the visiting Azeri president said Baku was prepared to offer further concessions, including that of political autonomy, to Karabakh in a bid to resolve a seven-year deadlock over the enclave, which is situated in Azerbaijan but populated mostly by ethnic Armenians.

"We proposed granting a special autonomous political status to Nagorno-Karabakh in return for Armenia's recognition of our sovereignty over this region," which Armenia has refused thus far to grant, Aliyev said.

The issue has bitterly divided Armenians and Azeris since Karabakh Armenians backed by Yerevan launched a secession bid in 1988, setting off a six-year war that has left more than 20,000 dead and 500,000 displaced. Thus far, despite continued Armenian military control over much of Karabakh, Azerbaijan has insisted it will cede only "cultural autonomy" to the mountainous region in western Azerbaijan.

Sunday, Aliyev indicated Baku's willingness to go further with full political autonomy, but only if Armenia showed that it too was committed to peace and would withdraw from the Lachin province, in southern Nagorno-Karabakh.

"If we want to move towards peace, Armenia must withdraw from this part of the country," Aliyev said. "Armenia wants to maintain control over the province of Lachin ... which goes against international law."

Several rounds of talks on the disputed province have been held under the aegis of the Minsk Group, co-chaired by Finland and Russia, which was charged in 1992 with finding a solution to the conflict by the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe (OSCE).

Aliyev was speaking at the start of a two-day visit aimed mainly at encouraging investment in his country. The president, a Brezhnev-era leader of Azerbaijan, will meet Monday with Prime Minister Alain Juppe and officials of the oil company Elf Aquitaine and other business leaders.

Aliyev also commented on Azerbaijan's first democratic general election last month, saying that despite a few irregularities in the poll, the result had been a success for Azerbaijan's move toward democracy. "For the first time in our history we have had a pluralist vote," Aliyev said. "That is a very large first step towards democracy."

Aliyev's Eni (New) Azerbaijan party emerged as a clear winner in the poll, achieving a comfortable majority in parliament. Observers monitoring the November 12 poll said it was riddled with irregularities, but stopped short of calling the voting invalid.

Negotiations on Armenian-Azerbaijani Conflict Viewed

NC0112193395 Baku TURAN in English
1309 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Moscow 01/12/95 TURAN — Ambassador-at-Large of Russian President, Vladimir Kazimirov, told Turan's correspondent that the negotiations on Armenian-Azerbaijani conflict settlement have reached very serious stage.

Touching upon the key issue, status of Nagorno-Karabakh, Kazimirov noted discrepancy of positions and said the Azeri side is to blame for that. "The Azerbaijani side expresses the readiness to give Nagorno-Karabakh the highest independent status in the Azerbaijan Republic, but it is not in hurry to make real steps towards this direction", he said.

The Russian Ambassador did not draw analogy between Nagorno-Karabakh status and Nakhichevan, considering the latter to be internal affair of Azerbaijan. "We are dealing only with the status of Nagorno-Karabakh as far it will help to settle the armed conflict", he mentioned.

Regarding to the recent appeal of the Russian President to the Russian side to actives activities to settle the Armenian-Azerbaijani and Georgian-Abkhazian conflicts, Kazimirov noted the problem must be settled "on high level between the parties to the conflict". He also stressed the importance of the meetings between the heads of the conflicting sides not speculating about their names.

Kazimirov acknowledged that Moscow offered to grant Azerbaijan's Lachin region to Armenia on lease. He referred to joint resolutions adopted together with the Finnish diplomats on program of activities on Lachin.

He also said in this program Lachin is considered to be as "transit zone". However, he said he did not hear anything about the lease term of 99 years.

The Russian envoy also repeated his previous positions on Shusha, considering that journalists a little bit exaggerated the analogies with Jerusalem, he once had drawn.

Russia does not speak about its monopoly in achievement of peace. "We agree that the OSCE multinational peace-keeping forces can be used there", he said.

Talks With Armenia in Bonn End Early

NC0212191095 Baku TURAN in English 1337 GMT 2 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Baku/02.12.95/TURAN — Next round of the Armenian-Azeri talks held in Bonn is over. Representative of the Russian co-chairman of the OSCE Minsk conference Vladimir Kazimirov told that the talks were over one day before the scheduled time. He said that during the talks "the conflicting parties worked on the text of the Major Political Agreement and were thinking over the ways how to submit to the Budapest Session of Foreign Ministers (BSFM) about the course of settlement."

According to Russian diplomat, the participants of the meeting paid a special attention to the report of co-chairmen of the Minsk group on the course of the settling and on the proposed draft of the resolution by the BSFM on the course of the settling." [no opening quotation mark as received]

"After some tense discussions they managed to find mutually accepted wordings which allow to all parties to agree to a report by the co-chairmen of the BSFM on Nagorno Karabakh," Kazimirov said. The Russian diplomat said that the essense of the proposed project is to fix "the format of the Minsk process for settlement of the conflict, to fix cease-fire, to support the decision by the parties to follow this regime up to the signing of the political agreement."

Georgia

Nadibaidze, OSCE Official Discuss Russian Peacekeepers

LD3011231395 Tbilisi First Program Television Network in Georgian 1600 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Georgian Defense Minister Lieutenant-General Vardiko Nadibaidze met Mr Dieter Boden, head of the OSCE mission in Georgia, today. Military and political issues relating to settling conflicts in Georgia were discussed.

The defense minister spoke about the role the OSCE mission plays in settling the conflicts and emphasized that due to joint efforts made by the mission and the Russian peacekeeping forces, circumstances have been created for the final settlement of the Samachablo [South Ossetia] problem.

Mr Dieter Boden said that the OSCE leadership was attaching profound importance to the establishment of peace and stability in Georgia and the welcomed firm and consistent peace course taken by the republic's authorities. Mr Dieter Boden introduced his deputy, Brigade General Roman Kharmoza [as received], who would be responsible for coordinating military issues within the mission's framework.

Answering a question about the activities of the Russian peacekeeping forces in Abkhazia, Vardiko Nadibaidze said the mandate of the forces was expiring on 31 December. He said that either their functions should be expanded, which means attributing the rights of police to them, or the contingent had to leave the territory of Abkhazia. A decision on this issue will be made at the meeting of the CIS heads of state to be held on 19 January 1996.

Cossacks Call on Yeltsin for 'Decisive Measures'

LD0212182295 Tbilisi IBERIA in Georgian 1550 GMT 2 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Tbilisi, 2 Dec — The Union of Cossacks of Georgia made a statement today. The statement says that the Cossacks of Georgia condemn the placid stand taken by Russia in respect of Abkhaz separatists who act in accordance with a scenario exercised in Chechnya. The failure of the so-called Abkhaz-Georgian talks in Moscow to achieve success clearly demonstrates the lack of seriousness in Russia's attitude toward settling the conflict.

Reactionary forces, which are gathered around Vladislav Ardzinba, and which concern themselves with their personal interests rather than the country's interests, cause social tension in the internal political life and threaten the age-old friendship between Russia and Georgia. Taking into account the current circumstances, on behalf of all ethnic Russians residing in Georgia, the Union of Cossacks of Georgia is committed to call on Russian President Boris Yeltsin to take decisive measures to secure the return of refugees to Abkhazia and the restoration of Georgia's territorial integrity.

'No Political Changes' in Abkhaz Position at Talks

LD0112183895 Tbilisi Radio Tbilisi Network in Georgian 1500 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] Abkhaz-Georgian talks on settling the Abkhaz conflict continue in Moscow. While commenting on the proceedings of the talks, Vazha Lortkipanidze, head of the Georgian delegation and Georgian ambassador extraordinary and plenipotentiary to Russia, told a SAKINFORM correspondent that, unfortunately, no political changes in Abkhazia's position on resolving the problem could be observed.

While discussing the political status of Abkhazia, the Abkhaz side still attempts to thrust upon the participants in the talks the concept of confederation, that is the concept of partnership of equal subjects of a state. Lortkipanidze said that this position was unacceptable to Georgia because this actually was encroachment upon Georgia's territorial integrity. This is also unacceptable to the world community, which has unequivocally recognized Georgia's territorial integrity. This has repeatedly been said from a high podium and indicated in official documents. We are prepared, Lortkipanidze said, to seek a compromise but only on condition that the principle of the state's territorial integrity, which is stipulated in the new Georgian Constitution, be strictly complied with.

Abkhazians Want Equal Rights for All Subjects

LD0112141395 Moscow ITAR-TASS in English 1342 GMT 1 Dec 95

[By Irina Shchegoleva]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] SOCHI, December 1 (Itar-Tass) — Members of the Abkhazian delegation at the Georgian-Abkhazian talks in Moscow are ready, as a compromise, to discuss a possibility of the creation of a union state within the boundaries of the former Georgian Soviet Republic, but only on condition that all its subjects will have equal rights, Tass learned from a reliable Abkhazian source, which is close to the leadership of the republic. According to the source, this problem and the problem of the status of Abkhazia are on the top of the agenda at the talks, which were resumed today.

Differences between members of the Abkhazian parliament, of which journalists learned at a press conference of Abkhazian leader Vladislav Ardzinba in Sukhumi, made no impact on the talks in Moscow, or on the stand assumed by the Abkhazian delegation either, the source assured Tass. It is worth reminding in this connection that some members of parliament expressed disagreement with a number of provisions of the draft document on the settlement of Georgian-Abkhazian relations, submitted for consideration by the Abkhazian delegation with the consent of Ardzinba. A group of MPs found in the draft document deviations from the principles, proclaimed in the previous documents.

Speaker of the Abkhazian parliament Sokrat Dzhindzholia continues to lead the Abkhazian delegation at the talks. By all appearances, he has not changed his attitude to the draft document. This shows that the MPs, who are in opposition to it, expressed their own opinion, and not that of the whole of the parliament.

German Government To Provide Aid to Abkhaz Refugees

LD0412095195 Moscow ITAR-TASS World Service in Russian 0815 GMT 4 Dec 95

The German Government will provide 3.5 million marks worth of food and medical supplies for the Abkhaz refugees in the western Georgian region of Samegrelo, ITAR-TASS news agency reported on 4 December. The consignment of aid is to be airlifted to its destination in December, the agency quoted the German embassy to Georgia as saying.

Shevardnadze Discusses Future of Georgia

LD0212000195 Paris France-2 Television Network in French 2215 GMT 1 Dec 95

[Interview with President Eduard Shevardnadze by correspondent Claude Serillon; place, date not give—live or recorded; from the "Geopolis" program; Shevardnadze's remarks in Georgian fading into French translation]

[FBIS Translated Text] [Serillon] Mr. President, you have published a book called "The Future Is Called Freedom," but what is the future of Georgia, which is said to be under Moscow's control, threatened by separatist temptations, and at present undergoing an uncertain economic recovery?

[Shevardnadze] Georgia's future is defined by the strategy that we have set out in the last two or three years. It is the path that will lead to the country's reform, the development of its democracy, economic recovery in a historically short period, and cooperation with other countries. Concerning what you call Moscow's eye, there is no longer overall control as one saw with imperialist states. Russia has specific interests, but these should exist within the framework of our country's sovereignty.

[Serillon] Is it true that you have changed? You were once part of the communist system, and you are now a democratically elected president. So has the man really changed?

[Shevardnadze] It is a very complicated process. I was a communist with quite firm ideas that I had held since my youth. Then a serious transformation came about as a result of daily realities. I came to the conclusion that the model of socialism as it existed in the former Soviet Union had no future, that the country had come to an impasse, and that solutions had to be sought in the democratization of the country and society, the transformation of the economy, and the motivation of private initiative, but all this was incompatible with the ideas I adhered to at that time. As I often say, that is why the most difficult revolution of all took place, the one that takes place in one's mind, to one's mentality. Whether this is good or not, I have covered a lot of ground, and as you say, I am now the president of a different country with different ideas.

I would like to add one thing. If it was just a matter of the transformation of the thoughts and principles of a few people, such as Gorbachev, Yakovlev, Shevardnadze, and others, it is difficult to say what Europe and the world would look like today.

Estonia

Foreign Minister Warns OSCE Envoy on Russian 'Propaganda'

LD3011150595 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1200 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The mission of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE] in Estonia should pay more attention to Russia's propaganda toward Estonia, Estonian Foreign Minister Siim Kallas said at a meeting with Max van der Stoel, the OSCE high commissioner on national minorities.

Kallas noted that Moscow is attempting to destabilize the situation in Estonia using the local Russian minority. The main issue of the meeting between Kallas and Max van der Stoel was extending the mandate of the OSCE mission in Estonia, which is to expire on 1 January. The permanent council of the OSCE in Vienna is also discussing the continuing of the OSCE mission in Estonia.

According to the Estonian Ministry of Foreign Affairs, Max van der Stoel said that in Moscow he had repeatedly refuted allegations of discrimination against ethnic minorities in Estonia. At the meeting with Kallas, Max van der Stoel noted that his statements to this end have alas received no attention in Estonia and only his position on some issues relating to non-citizens has been

OSCE Commissioner: Human Rights Not Violated

LD0312202995 Tallinn Estonian Television Network in Estonian 1900 GMT 2 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Excerpt] Max van der Stoel, the high commissioner on national minorities of the Organization for Security and Cooperation in Europe [OSCE], said that human rights were not violated in Estonia.

A seminar on national minorities attended by delegations from Estonia, Macedonia, Slovakia, Czech Republic, Kyrgyzstan, and Kazakhstan ended in Tallinn today. [passage omitted]

[Begin Max van der Stoel recording, in English] I have stated on a number of occasions, not only in Estonia, but also during a news conference in Moscow, that, in my view, on could not speak of a consistent (?matter of) human rights violations in Estonia. [end recording]

However, Stoel noted that national minorities in Estonia do have problems in certain areas, but these problems could not be regarded as human rights violations. These problem issues are citizenship law and travel documents. Stoel thought that the Estonian Government was trying to find solutions to these issues and that when relevant laws are adopted, their possible implications to national minorities will be taken into account.

Max van der Stoel said that the round table on ethnic minorities at the presidency had made many useful decisions during its two and half years of existence and was a very good example of cooperation between nations and nationalities.

OSCE Mission's Mandate Extended

LD0112173395 Tallinn Radio Tallinn Network in Estonian 1400 GMT 1 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] The OSCE extended its mission's mandate in Estonia today, despite the fact that OSCE confirms that human rights are not being violated in Estonia. OSCE's permanent council in Vienna extended the mission's mandate until 30 June 1996, the Foreign Ministry's press service told BNS. The U.S., EU, Norwegian, and Polish representatives at the council's session emphasized that the OSCE mission in Estonia is necessary so as to inform member states of the phenomena affecting regional stability. According to the speakers, Estonia cannot be seen as a crisis region and human rights are not violated here.

They welcomed the first reading of the ratification of the Estonian-Russian July agreement in the Riigikogu and hoped that the agreements will be ratified in the near future. The OSCE permanent council's session also emphasized the importance of resolving the Estonian-Russian border dispute and in this connection, the need for flexibility and compromises on both sides.

Baltic Assembly Favors Creation of Baltic Defense Union

LD0312172595 Moscow INTERFAX in English 1418 GMT 3 Dec 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] TALLINN, Dec 3 (Interfax) — The Seventh session of the Baltic Assembly completed its work in Tallinn Saturday. The Baltic Assembly, which embraces Latvia, Lithuania and Estonia, recommended that the three countries' governments develop cooperation in the defense area, "going as far as creating single coordinating structures."

The Baltic Assembly adopted a resolution on cooperation in the defense area obliging the three governments to "inform the Baltic Assembly of progress in the creation of a defense union between the Baltic states."

However, Baltic Assembly President, Deputy Chairman of the Estonian Parliament Arnold Ruutel told Interfax that the resolution did not provide for the three countries creating a single military structure. "We are already forming a Baltic peacekeeping battalion. We do not need another joint military organization," he said.

The three countries intend to create a joint organ for broadening cooperation for controlling the Baltic states' air space and maritime borders and bringing to uniform standards armaments and communications networks, Ruutel said.

The Baltic Assembly also approved an appeal to the Parliamentary Assembly of the Council of Europe. The Baltic Assembly proposed that the Council of Europe "demand that Russia assume to respect the Baltic countries' independence and sovereign rights" before admitting Russia to this organization.

The Baltic Assembly passed a total of 14 documents, including two agreements on making the Assembly more efficient, five documents on resolving the region's social-economic problems, six political documents and one document concerning refugees.

Lithuania will preside over the Baltic Assembly during the next six months, replacing Estonia's chairmanship.

The Baltic Assembly was created on May 12, 1990. It includes representatives of the three Baltic countries' parliaments.

Lithuania

President Questions Validity of May Agreement With Latvia

WS0112121595 Tallinn BNS in English
1900 GMT 30 Nov 95

[FBIS Transcribed Text] Vilnius, Nov 30, BNS — The Maisiagala memorandum, signed last May by the Lithuanian and Latvian presidents and prime ministers, was only a provisional document on negotiations with recommendatory character, Lithuanian president Algirdas Brazauskas said.

In his answer to a question by BNS, the president stressed that "there was never and is no reason to characterize this document as an international treaty which has, as is usual, provisions allowing for its nullification."

For this reason, Brazauskas said he does not intend to adopt any act concerning the document's validity.

This week right-wing opposition leader Vytautas Landsbergis declared that the Lithuanian head of state should issue a ruling to legally annul the Maisiagala memorandum.

President Brazauskas expressed regret that "such important state affairs have become an object of discord between political parties" and suggested that politicians "refrain from statements of dubious worth so as not to provide opportunities for other countries to think that we Lithuanians ourselves are in disagreement over how to regard the validity of our juridical documents."

President Brazauskas noted that the Lithuanian foreign ministry's diplomatic note of November 8 to the Latvian foreign ministry stressed that all previous agreements between Lithuania and Latvia on the delimitation of the Baltic Sea aquatory would be regarded as null and void.

At the same time, the Maisiagala memorandum, in the concrete context of negotiations, was nonetheless an initial provisional document, which lost its meaning and validity after the direction of the negotiations changed radically, the head of state said.

He stressed that "any doubts in this issue are unfounded and idle."

Commenting on the prospects for delimitation of the sea border of Lithuania and Latvia, Brazauskas said that he saw no obstacles to resolving the question by means of negotiations.

The foreign ministry is empowered and competent to conduct further negotiations on the delimitation of the Baltic Sea aquatory, as is the Lithuanian State Commission, established by the administration in March of this year for the delimitation and demarcation of state borders and economic zones in the Baltic Sea.

Brazauskas emphasized that there was no need to turn to any third party or independent international arbitrators. "Lithuania and Latvia have sufficiently good will to find a just solution. acceptable to both countries," said the head of state.

He stressed that the problems of delimiting the sea border are rather complex and that even certain countries of the European Union had not resolved such issues in all cases. However, this was no obstacle for the integration process, the head of state noted and expressed the conviction that the disagreement would not impede the ever growing unity of the Baltic countries.

Slezevicius Supports Estonian Mediation in Latvian Dispute

LD0112213695 Moscow INTERFAX in English
1819 GMT 1 Dec 95

[From the "Diplomatic Panorama" feature]

[FBIS Transcribed Text] VILNIUS, Dec 1 (Interfax) — Lithuanian Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius hailed Thursday the readiness of Estonian deputies to contribute to the search of mutually acceptable resolution of the sea border dispute between Lithuania and Latvia.

He told a news conference in Vilnius that the initiative of Estonian deputies is "possible and necessary."

Slezevicius said he had supported it in a telephone conversation with deputy speaker of Estonian parliament Arnold Ruitel.

Slezevicius hopes that an optimum formula of the deputies' participation in the talks between Lithuania and Latvia will be found.

Prime Minister Slezevicius Arrives in Italy

LD0412120095 Vilnius Radio Vilnius Network in Lithuanian 1000 GMT 4 Dec 95

[FBIS Translated Text] A Lithuanian governmental delegation, headed by Prime Minister Adolfas Slezevicius, arrived in Rome today upon invitation from the Italian Prime Minister Lamberto Dini, a Lithuanian Government spokesman reported.

Slezevicius is accompanied by Minister of Transport Jonas Birziskis, Vilnius district Governor Alfonsas Macaitis, and other state officials.

The visit to Italy by the Lithuanian prime minister started with his participation in a live morning show on the most popular Italian television channel at 0900. Slezevicius was answering questions from Italian journalists and spent more than 10 minutes explaining the reasons for Lithuania's bid to become a full member of the European Union and NATO. Slezevicius also spoke about expanding European and regional cooperation.

The Lithuanian governmental delegation also visited the Lithuanian Embassy in Rome. Currently, the delegation is visiting the Vatican, where Slezevicius is being received by Pope John Paul II.

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